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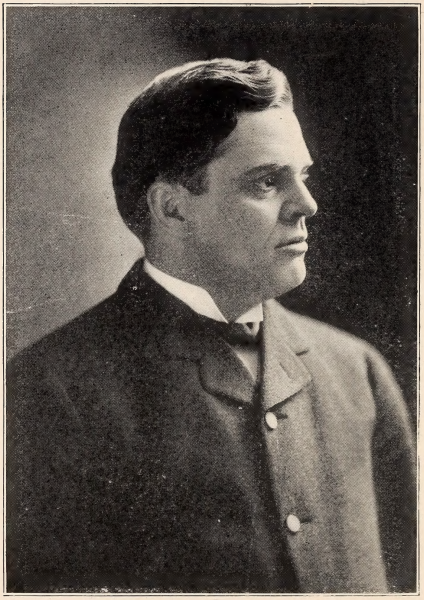

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For the Year 1906.

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SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

Springfield, Ill., Jan. 24-25, 1906.

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# INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, beside the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these *contributions* to *State History* may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's *Transactions*. The *contributions* are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other *private* documentary material. It is thought that *public* documents, especially in the case of extensive series, may best be provided for in the official publications of the State Historical Library, notably in the *Illinois Historical Collections*.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays on brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by footnotes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based.

4. Bibliographies.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual understanding that this society was organized.

In conclusion it should be said, that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

Evarts B. Greene,
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University of Illinois, August, 1906.

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(Chancellor Anglo-American University).....Brighton, Ontario, Can.
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Lemmers, C. A., Ed. The Woodstock
Republican.....Woodstock, Ill.
Lewis, Hon. Ira W.....Dixon, Ill.
Lewis, J. B., Ed. The Marion County
Democrat.....Salem, Ill.
Little, John S.....Rushville, Ill.
Lilly, (Mrs.) John P.....Sullivan, Ill.
Lodge, William F.....Monticello, Ill.
Long, G. Frank.....Alton, Ill.
Longworth, Abel.....Clay City, Ill.
Lord, D. M.,5450 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lord, Mrs. F. W.....Piano, Ill.
Lowe, Leo H., Ed. Kewanee Weekly
Star-Courier.....Kewanee, Ill.
Lumaghi, Joseph, 411 Olive St., St.Louis, Mo.

McAdams, William, Sr.....
Kansas, Edgar County, Rural Route No. 13
McCagg, E. B.,.....67 Cass St., Chicago, Ill.
McCalmont, Samuel M.....Morrison, Ill.
McClelland, Thomas.....
.....161 Randolph, St., Chicago, Ill.
McConnel, G. M. (Chicago Chronicle)
.....Chicago, Ill.
McCormick, Prof. Henry, Illinois State
Normal University.....Normal, Ill.
McCulloch, Judge David.....Peoria, Ill.
McDonald, L.....Ed. Phoenix Advertiser
.....Lockport, Ill.
McGlynn, P.S., Ed. The Moline Review-
Dispatch.....Moline, Ill.
McLean County Historical Society.....
.....Bloomington, Ill.
McManis, C. J.....Princeton, Ill.
McMerney, J. J, Ed. The Alton Sentinel
.....Alton, Ill.
McNeely, T. W.....Petersburg, Ill.
McPike, H. G.....Alton, Ill.
Manny, Hon. Walter I.....Mt. Sterling, Ill.
Marmon, Mrs. W. W.....Bloomington, Ill.
Marney, John D.....Springfield, Ill.
Matthews, Hon. A. C.....Pittsfield, Ill.
Matthews, Mrs. E. A.....Carlinville, Ill.
Maxey, B. M., Ed. Southern Illinois
Journal.....Flora, Ill.
Mead, Dr. Homer.....Camden, Ill.
Mead, Dr. Mary Ward.....Camden, Ill.
Meese, Hon. William A.....Moline, Ill.
Merritt, Hon. E. L.....Springfield, Ill.
Miller, Bertha R. (Mrs. I. G. Miller)
.....Springfield, Ill.
Miller, Mrs. Flo. J.....Wilmington, Ill.
Miller, John E.....East St. Louis, Ill.
Milligan, Dr. Josephine....Jacksonville, Ill.
Mills, Albert T.....Decatur, Ill.
Mills, Richard W.....Virginia, Ill.
Miner, Dr. James.....Winchester, Ill.
Moore, Clara (Mrs. Ensley Moore).....
.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Moore, Hon. Ensley.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Moore, Col. Risdon M.San Antonio, Texas.

*Deceased.

## *Members of the Illinois State Historical Society*—Continued.

Morris, Henry C, 4412 Grand Blv., ..... Chicago, Ill.
*Moses, Hon. Adolph, The Temple..... Chicago, Ill.
Moss, John R ..... Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Munsell, W. W., 1106 Monadnock Bldg. ..... Chicago, Ill.
Myers, Hon. Colostin D ..... Bloomington, Ill.

Nelson, Hon. William E ..... 804 West William st., Decatur, Ill.
Norton, Hon. W. T ..... Alton, Ill.

Odenweller, A. L ..... Frederick, Ill.
Orendorff, Alfred ..... Springfield, Ill.
Orendorff, Hon. John B ..... Bloomington, Ill.
Orendorff, Julia W. (Mrs. Alfred Orendorff) ..... Springfield, Ill.
Osborne, Miss Georgia L ..... Jacksonville, Ill.

Page, Prof. E. C., Northern Illinois Normal School ..... DeKalb, Ill.
*Palmer, Mrs. Ellen R ..... Chicago, Ill.
*Palmer, Hon. John Mayo ..... Chicago, Ill.
Parker, C. M., Ed. School News ..... Taylorville, Ill.
Parkinson, D. B ..... Carbondale, Ill.
Payne, Wm. T ..... 119-121 LaSalle st, Chicago, Ill.
Pearson, Hon. J. M ..... Godfrey, Ill.
Peoria County Historical Society, Peoria, Ill.
Perrin, Hon. J. N ..... Belleville, Ill.
Pettit, Guy V, Ed. Reynolds Press ..... Reynolds, Ill.
Phillips, Edward O., the Republic ..... St. Louis, Mo.
Phillips, Winfield S ..... Ridgeway, Ill.
*Pierce, Frederick C ..... Chicago, Ill.
Pitner, Dr. T. J ..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Polo Historical Society ..... Polo, Ill.
Porter, Capt. Thomas I ..... Chicago, Ill.
Postle, Dr. J. M ..... DeKalb, Ill.
Pyle, Prof. J. Oscar, Ewing College ..... Ewing, Ill.
Primm, Enoch W ..... Belleville, Ill.
Prince, Ezra M., Secy. McLean Co. Hist. Soc ..... Bloomington, Ill.
Putnam, Prof. J. W., Northwestern University ..... Evanston, Ill.

Quincy Historical Society ..... Quincy, Ill.

Rahmeyer, Louise Hood, (Mrs. B. F. Rahmeyer) ..... No. 150 Potenciana Intramuros Manila, Philippine Islands.
Rammelkamp, Prof. C. H., Illinois College ..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Rapp, Hon. J. M ..... Fairfield, Ill.
Raymond, James H ..... Suite 1513-15 Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.
Reeves, Mrs. Kate K ..... Springfield, Ill.
Reeves, Judge W. W ..... Tuscola, Ill.
Reul, J. G ..... Mendota, Ill.
Richardson, D. H ..... Belvidere, Ill.
Ridgely, Mrs. Charles ..... Springfield, Ill.
Roberts, Prof. L., Western State Normal School ..... Macomb, Ill.
Roosa, Mrs. S. V ..... Springfield, Ill.
Rose, Hon. James A ..... Springfield, Ill.
Rose, Mrs. James A ..... Springfield, Ill.
Rounds, H. E., Ed. The North Shore News ..... Rogers Park, Ill.
Routson, Clarence M ..... Farmington, Ill.
Rowland, J. R ..... Avon, Ill.
Russell, Andrew ..... Jacksonville, Ill.
Rutledge J. E ..... St. Louis, Mo.

Sanders, Col. George A ..... Springfield, Ill.
Sattley, Miss Olive ..... Springfield, Ill.
Sayler, H. L ..... 138 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Schrerer, Andrew ..... 383 North State street, Chicago, Ill.
Schmidt Dr. Otto L ..... 3328 Michigan ave., Chicago, Ill.
Schneck, Dr. Jacob ..... Mt. Carmel, Ill.
Schoolcraft, Prof. H. L ..... Urbana, Ill.
Schroter, Fred J ..... 5244 Greenwood ave., Chicago, Ill.
Scott, Edgar S ..... Springfield, Ill.
Scott, Julia Green (Mrs. M. T. Scott) ..... Bloomington, Ill.
Seil, W. J., Ed. Grayville Mercury ..... Grayville, Ill.
Selby, Paul ..... 5468 Monroe ave., Chicago, Ill.
Sheets, J. M ..... Oblong, Ill.
Sheppard, Prof. R. D., Northwestern University ..... Evanston, Ill.
Sibley, Dr. Frank C ..... Carmi, Ill.
Sibley, H. F ..... Fairfield, Ill.
Sibley, Dr. W. C ..... Fairfield, Ill.
Silliman, E. C ..... Chenoa, Ill.
Silver, Miss Anna Barnet ..... Urbana, Ill.
Smith, Col. D. C ..... Normal, Ill.
Smith, George W., Southern Illinois State Normal Univerity ..Carbondale, Ill.
Smith, Randolph ..... Flora, Ill.
Snively, Hon. E. A ..... Springfield, Ill.
Snively, Mrs. E. A ..... Springfield, Ill.
Snyder, J. F ..... Virginia, Ill.
*Souther, George H ..... Springfield, Ill.
Sparks, Prof. E. E., Ph. D., University of Chicago ..... Chicago, Ill.
Sparks, H. B ..... Alton, Ill.
Spear, S. L ..... Springfield, Ill.
Spence, M. H., Ed. The Elmwood Gazette ..... Elmwood, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K ..... 112-114 Genesee st., Waukegan, Ill.
Steenburg, Alice W (Mrs. Alfred C.) ..... Farmington, Ill.
Stennett, Dr. W. H ..... 303 Linden ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Stericker, Louise B. (Mrs. George F. Stericker) ..... Springfield, Ill.
Stevens, F. E ..... 1205 Chamber of Commerce Building, Chicago, Ill.
Steward, Miss Bertha .Steward, Lee Co., Ill.
Steward, John F ..... 1889 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
Steward, Julian R ..... Plano, Ill.
Stewart, Charles S ..... Elmwood, Ill
Stice, Henry ..... Normal, Ill.
Stillwell, Hon. L ..... Erie, Kansas.
Stringer, Hon. Lawrence B ..... Lincoln, Ill.
Stubblefield, Hon. George W ..... Bloomington, Ill.
*Stuve, Dr. Bernard ..... Springfield, Ill.
Swift, E. C ..... Ottawa, Ill.

Tauchan, Mrs. Marie ..... 1012 W. Argyle, Irving Park, Chicago, Ill.
Taylor, Charles R ..... Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, Mrs. Harriet Rumsey ..... Springfield, Ill.
Thayer, Miss Maude ..... Springfield, Ill.
Thompson, Henry Avery ..... Galena, Ill.
Throgmorton, Rev. W. P ..... Marion, Ill.
Tietsort, H. W., editor The Medora Messenger ..... Medora, Ill.
Tomlin, Mrs. Eliza I. H. ...Jacksonville, Ill.

Deceased.

## *Members of the Illinois State Historical Society*—Concluded.

Tompkins, W. H., editor The Dundee Hawkeye.....Dundee, Ill.
Tuttle, W. R .....East St. Louis, Ill.
Urech & Son, editors The Mendon Dispatch.....Mendon, Ill.
Utterback, J. C., editor The Republican.....Salem, Ill.
Vandervort, Dr. F. C.....Bloomington, Ill.
Vocke, Hon. William, President German-American Historical Society .....103-109 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Waite, Dr. H. N.....Johnson, Vt.
Walker, Rev. Edwin S.....Springfield, Ill.
Walker, Mrs. Edwin S.....Springfield, Ill.
*Wallace, Joseph.....Springfield, Ill.
Watterman, Judge A. N.....40 Groveland Park, Chicago, Ill.
Way, Virgil G.....Proctor, Ford county, Ill.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer..Springfield, Ill.
Wells, Frederick Latimer.....Wheaton, Ill.
Wertz, Miss Adda P.....Carbondale, Ill.
West, Hon. Simeon H.....Leroy, Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert.....14 State st., Chicago, Ill.
Wheeler, Mrs. Katherine Goss .....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, Judge S. P.....Springfield, Ill.
Wightman, F .....Lacon, Ill.
Wiles, Alice Bradford (Mrs. Robert H. Wiles)..5711 Woodlawn av., Chicago, Ill.
Willcox, E. S.....Peoria, Ill.
Withers, Henry C.....Carrollton, Ill.
*Wohlgemuth, Dr. Henry...Springfield, Ill.
Woltersdorf, Louis .....360 Ashland av., Chicago, Ill.
Woodworth, A. P.....Robinson, Ill.
Woolard, F. M .....Wauwatosa, Wis.
Worthington, Hon. Thomas.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, Miriam I. (Mrs. Thomas Worthington).....Jacksonville, Ill.
Wright, Joseph 811 Park av., Springfield, Ill
Wyckoff, Dr. Charles T., Bradley Polytechnic Institute.....Peoria, Ill.
Young, J. H.....Oakwood, Ill
Zeller, Rev. J. C.....507 E. Chestnut st. Bloomington, Ill.

* Deceased.

# CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## Article I—Name and Objects.

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

## Article II—Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties.

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which board the president of the Society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a president and as many vice-presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3 The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an act of the Legislature approved May 16. 1903, entitled "An act to add a new section to an act entitled an act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice-presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president pro-tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall preform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same, the said board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

## Article III—Membership.

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less that one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the board of directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; bnt nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

## Article IV—Meetings and Quorum.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of January in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

## Article V—Amendments.

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided*, that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

# ERRATA.

On page 3, for David McCullough, read David *McCulloch*.
On page 165, for John Morly, read John *Morley*.
On page 233, for Supper family, read *Suppiger* family.
On page 235, for Aaran, Switzerland, read *Aarau*, Switzerland.
On page 236, for Jas. Speckers, read Jas. *Speckart*.
On page 237, for H. F. Bandelier, read *Ad* F. Bandelier.
On page 237, for J. S. Horner, read J. S. *Hoerner*.
On page 285, for Mr. Crary of Ohio, read *Gen. Isaac E. Crary of Michigan*.
On page 237, for Gustave Kröner, read Gustave *Korner*.
On page 287, last line, for Sweet, read *Swett*.

PART I.

# Record of Official Proceedings.

# SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Jan. 24-25, 1906.

BUSINESS MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JAN. 24, 1906, 10:00 O'CLOCK A. M.

The seventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol, January 24-25, 1906.

The session opened with the business meeting Wednesday morning, January, 24, at 10:00 o'clock.

President Alfred Orendorff presided.

The society proceeded with the regular order of business.

The secretary's report was read and approved. The treasurer's report was read and approved.

The president called for the reports of committees. E. B. Greene, chairman of the Publication committee, made a verbal report for that committee. Chairman Greene said that the annual transactions of the society had grown to such proportions that it seemed best to print some of the papers and addresses by summary instead of in full. He asked the opinion of the members of the society on this point. Chairman Greene moved that the Publication committee have authority, and that it be authorized to exercise discretion in the matter. This motion was seconded by Capt. J. H. Burnham, and, on being put to a vote, was carried.

The report of the Program committee was called for, and a verbal report was made by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, the chairman, who said, in substance, that the program of the literary sessions to be carried out after the close of the business meeting would speak for the labors of the program committee.

The committee on By-Laws was asked to report. In the absence of Chairman McCullough, Mr. J. H. Burnham reported for the committee. He said, in substance, that the committee had found that the constitution of the society meets all the needs for the government of the society, and that for the present at least a code of by-laws is not needed. He therefore moved that the constitution of the society be declared to be the rule for its government and that the committee on By-Laws be discharged. This motion was seconded, and being put to a vote, was carried.

The election of officers was then called for.

Mr. Snively moved that the secretary be directed to cast the ballot of the society for the present officers. This motion was seconded. Dr. A. W. French objected to this method of electing the officers of the society, and moved that a nominating committee be appointed. There was no second to Dr. French's motion; and Mr Snively's motion being before the society, it was voted on, and carried. The secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the society for the present officers. This she did, and the officers for January, 1905-1906, were re-elected for the year January, 1906—January, 1907.

Dr. M. H. Chamberlain addressed the society in regard to the illness of Hon. George N. Black, one of its most active members, and asked, by a motion, that the society send him (Mr. Black) a message of sympathy. The motion was amended by Captain J. H. Burnham, who moved that the chairman appoint a committee to formulate resolutions of sympathy for Mr. Black. The motion, as amended, was carried.

President Orendorff appointed as the committee:

Mr. Paul Selby, H. W. Clendenin and Charles P. Kane.

Mr. R. V. Carpenter offered the following resolution:

That the president appoint a committee of eight members, which shall include the three trustees of the State Historical Library, which committee shall draft and cause to be introduced in the next General Assembly of the State of Illinois, a bill providing for a sufficient appropriation for a suitable building to be erected by the State of Illinois, in the city of Springfield, for the use of the State Historical Society and State Historical Library, and for the maintenance of said building and the extension of the work of the said State Historical Society and State Historical Library; and that the said committee and the members of the Illinois State Historical Society shall use their best efforts to place the merits of such a bill before the members of the next Legislature and to secure its passage.

This motion was duly seconded and carried.

Mr. R. V. Carpenter offered the following resolution:

Whereas, Genealogy is the history of individuals and families; and the history of our great commonwealth is but the composite history of its individual citizens;

And Whereas, There are many persons in the State interested in genealogy who would be valuable additions to the working strength of this society;

*Resolved*, that the president appoint a committee of three members (including Capt. J. H. Burnham) to formulate a plan for establishing a genealogical department of this society; and to present same to the board of directors during the coming year, and that the board of directors may, if it deem advisable, establish such department of genealogy along the lines formulated by said committee, with such changes as the board sees fit to make.

Mr. Carpenter moved the adoption of the resolution offered by him. The motion was duly seconded, and, on being put to vote, was carried.

The committee, to whom had been entrusted the duty of preparing resolutions of sympathy for Mr. George N. Black, on account of his illness, signified its readiness to report, and were directed to so do. Mr. Paul Selby read the report, which is as follows:

Your committee, to whom has been entrusted the duty of formulating an expression of the feelings and sentiment of the members of the society, in view of the affliction through which our esteemed friend and associate, Mr. George N. Black, has been passing during the last few weeks, and which has

compelled his absence from the post which he has so long filled with such regularity and faithfulness, beg leave to suggest that the following message be addressed to him:

Remembering with gratitude and high appreciation your long, faithful and efficient service in connection with the affairs of the Illinois State Historical Society, your associates and fellow-members in annual session assembled, desire to express to you our profound regret in view of the suffering which has deprived us of your presence on this occasion.

While tendering you our profound sympathy, we take pleasure in congratulating you on your improved condition at the present time, giving promise of your ultimate and early restoration to health. With the sincere hope and anticipation that this will be the result of your present affliction, we, individually and as a body, beg to assure you of our belief that many years of happiness and usefulness are yet in store for you.

[Signed] PAUL SELBY,
HENRY W. CLENDENIN,
CHARLES P. KANE,
*Committee.*

The report of this committee was adopted by a rising vote.

There being no further business presented, the business meeting was declared adjourned, with the announcement by the president that matters of business might be presented at any convenient time during the sessions of the annual meeting.

On Thursday afternoon during the regular session of the society, Mr. E. S. Willcox offered the following resolution:

*Resolved* that in the opinion of the Illinois State Historical Society the the proper pronunciation of the name of our state is and of right historically ought to be *Illinoi* with the sound of the final letter "s" omitted.

Mr. Willcox moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded, and on being voted upon was carried.

On Thursday evening the president read to the society the names of a number of persons whom the board of directors recommended for honorary membership in the society; they were as follows:

Miss Jane Addams, Hon. Clark E. Carr, Hon. S. M. Cullom, Professor N. Dwight Harris, Mrs. Caroline M. B. Kane, Miss Caroline M. McIlvain, Hon. A. E. Stevenson, Professor Frederick J. Turner, Dr. Samuel Willard, Mrs. Eliza Kincaid Wilson.

On motion of Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, duly seconded, honorary membership was conferred by a unanimous vote of the society upon the persons above named.

Captain J. H. Burnham moved that the society express its appreciation and thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who read papers and addresses before it; to the ladies and gentlemen who had favored its sessions with music; to the press of the city of Springfield for its full and able reports of our sessions; and to the local committee on entertainments for its kind and untiring efforts, by means of which our meeting has been made comfortable and pleasant. This motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

The literary sessions were carried out according to the program, and the seventh annual session of the Illinois State Historical Society closed with a reception in the Illinois State Library, at which the officers and members of the society received their friends.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT, JANUARY 1905. JANUARY 1906.

### Report of the Secretary to the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, January 25, 1905, to January 24, 1906.

Gentlemen—I have the honor to submit to you my report as your secretary for the year beginning January 25, 1905 and closing January 24, 1906. The Illinois State Historical Society has made encouraging growth in every direction. Great credit is due the special committee on membership under the direction of Prof. E. E. Sparks. The distribution of the transactions of the society has as usual been most helpful. The interest in and the demand for the annual volumes continues to grow. All of the earlier numbers are out of print, the last volume, No. 9, the 1904 meeting, being the only one of which there remains any number. I used more care in the distribution of this number and had an edition of 5,000 instead of 3,000 the usual number printed. The members of the Legislature were most friendly to the society, many of them expressed their approbation of its work and objects, and a number of gentlemen members of the last General Assembly enrolled themselves as members of the society. The annual volume for 1905 is not yet ready for distribution. There have been many things which have contributed to this delay, the last and principal one being the scarcity of printers in Springfield. The publication committee will report on the volume. The society now has 328 active members, (this includes the editors who send their paper to the library and are exempt from the payment of annual dues), we have also three life members, ten honorary members and four local historical societies which are affiliated members. The hand of death has been laid heavily upon the society, eight of its members having been called to their reward. A brief sketch of each of the deceased members will be read to the society.

Some of our members have suffered sore bereavements in the death of dear ones, others have been called upon to bear wearing and painful illnesses. To those suffering ones our sympathies are extended. At the suggestion of Gov. Charles S. Deneen, I was asked by the commission to prepare an exhibit for the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon. This exhibit consisted of the collection of Lincolniana, which was shown at the St. Louis exposition and additional matter in the nature of a collection representing some phases of State history.

This exhibit was placed in the Illinois building at Portland and it received a gold medal, the highest award, as an historical exhibit. The Illinois building which was a reproduction of the Lincoln home in this city also received the highest award as did the exhibit of the University of Illinois. The entire exhibit of Illinois was placed in the Lincoln home, the State building. This exhibit has been returned to the library by the commission, but as the library is too crowded, having insufficient wall space or floor space to accommodate it, fully half of it has been placed in storage.

The work of the librarian of the library and of the secretary of the society goes hand in hand, and it is hard to separate them in making a report, but I will be pardoned if I say that the Library now has about 18,000 books and pamphlets bearing upon western history particularly the history of Illinois. The collection of newspaper files is a most valuable one, it is not very large but it is most valuable, we have files of the Illinois State Register and of the State Journal that are invaluable, the Journal begins with the first year of the paper, 1831, and the Register goes as far back to 1835-1836. We have lately received through the kindness of Auditor J. S. McCullough and Mr. W. H. Eubanks of the same office, a priceless addition to our newspaper collection. It is a file of the Illinois Intelligencer, Vandalia, 1822-1826, which was presented to the State of Illinois by Governor Edward Coles, and contains that dedication written by Governor Coles' own hand. "From Edward Coles to the State of Illinois". This precious file has lain for years in the vaults of the Auditor's office and was found recently when an overhauling of the vaults was made preparatory to the putting in of new steel vaults. We have a number of local papers sent us under the agreement with the State Press Association, we have some files too of the Chicago Tribune, and the Chicago Times, prior to the great fire of 1871, we have a file of the St Louis and Alton Observer (Lovejoy's paper), from 1835-1838. A list of our newspapers will be found on pages 56-57 of the Outline of State history recently issued. Members of the Historical Society receive all of the publications issued by the Department of State History, so I need not describe them. At the last session of the General Assembly, Mr. J. W. Kitchell of Pana, presented to the State a copy of the Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1818. This is the most valuable historic document, as it was not known that there was a copy in existence. Moses and other historical authorities have stated that all records of the 1818 Constitutional Convention were lost. The General Assembly passed a resolution of thanks to Mr. Kitchell for this most valuable gift.

A circular of the library, "An outline for the study of State History, with a reference list," has been issued. It was issued to supply a demand which was constantly growing. The president of the society, General Orendorff, suggested the work as a necessity since the Legislature had passed a law requiring teachers to be examined in Illinois history. This pamphlet has been received with much favor and is in great demand. Prof. C. W. Alvord will tell you of the finding of important manuscripts at Belleville and Kaskaskia, and of the intention of the library board to publish and translate

part at least of these important papers. The reference work of the Department of History is growing rapidly. It is not possible for me to do justice to it, though I try to meet it as best I can and my assistants devote much time to it.

At the last annual meeting of the society Professor Henry McCormick read a paper on "The value to both of a closer connection between the historical society and the public schools." This paper was a most timely one and I believe was the impetus which caused the members of the Historical Society to urge their representatives in the General Assembly to interest themselves in the passage of an act, or rather in the amendment of a part of the public school law of the State, by which an examination in Illinois history is necessary to the securing of a teachers' certificate in this State. I do not think it is claiming too much to say that the historical society is entitled to the credit for the passage of this law.

The society is to be congratulated that the committees have been more active than ever before, though there is still room for improvement along this line. The reports of the committees will be read by their respective chairmen, hence it is not necessary for me to call your attention to their work. The interest in State history grows in a most gratifying manner. It is apparent to any one that it is growing in all parts of the State. The law to which I have already referred is one reason for it, the woman's clubs have become interested in it, and so have the Daughters of the American Revolution and other organizations. Study clubs and classes for the study of Illinois State history have been organized in many parts of the State and are doing excellent work. We try to be of assistance to them in advising as to authorities, and in a great deal of reference work, many localities having not the advantages of suitable books.

A notable class of this kind is one which is a department of the Springfield Woman's club. It is under the leadership of Mrs. Margaret M. Bangs, a member of the State Historical Society. It has more than 100 members and is doing earnest work. Mrs. Bangs has prepared a splendid syllabus for the use of the class and she is giving the students the benefit of her earnestness and exceptional ability as a teacher. If classes of this nature could be organized all over the State (if necessary by this society), and placed under the leadership of some competent person, the cause of State history would advance by leaps and bounds, and the next generation of Illinoisans would not be as ignorant of State history as the present one. The mothers would take care of that. Many persons (some. our own members) interested in the cause of State history have written to the secretary of the society asking for aid in the organization of local historical societies. I suggest that the officers of the society give more attention to this matter and that the Committee on Local Historical Societies have greater powers and that some means be devised by which some agent of the society can, with expenses paid, make visits to the local societies, either to aid in their formation or to assist in the celebration of the anniversaries of local historical events. These visits would be very encouraging to local societies and I think would be the means of greatly increasing the membership of the State society.

There has of late been much comparison of the Illinois State Historical Society with other societies in our neighboring states, particularly Wisconsin. It is true that we must bow to the superior facilities and possessions of Wisconsin, but it should be borne in mind the length of time that has elapsed since the formation of the Wisconsin society. It had been formed more than fifty years when a few of us met over in Champaign to talk over plans for the formation of this society. We must not forget that when Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the secretary of the Wisconsin society, delivered before this society the annual address at its second annual meeting, held in this house January 30, 1901, he made the following statement in his address: "Fifty-two years ago tonight the Wisconsin Historical Society was born. January 30, 1849, a hundred or more state officers, members of the legislature, Wisconsin's first state legislature, and other prominent citizens, met in a hotel parlor in Madison and organized the society." Mr. Thwaites closed his address with the words, "We of the Wisconsin society, upon this, our fifty-second birthday, bid the young society of Illinois, Godspeed." This message was brought to us at the second annual meeting of the society, at the close of the first complete year of the society's work. This society received its charter May 30, 1900. We are behind Wisconsin, we are behind other states, but we are growing; and from Chicago to Cairo, and from the Wabash to the Mississippi, come cheering words of hope and courage and promise. Work of this kind, if it be well done, takes time as well as money. We have no right to be discouraged. It is ungrateful to the memory of Hiram W. Beckwith, it is ungrateful and unappreciative of the efforts of Dr. J. F. Snyder, of Capt. J. H. Burnham, of George N. Black, who now from a sickbed sends us anxious and loving thoughts and greeting; to E. B. Greene, Dr M. H. Chamberlin, General Alfred Orendorff, President E. J. James, Mrs. Catherine Goss Wheeler, Paul Selby, James Haines and others of the pioneers in the work of this society, who have given unstinted time and labor to the advancement of the Illinois State Historical Society. I repeat, it is ungrateful to them to speak of discouragement. This discouragement on the part of the public is really encouragement. It means interest. When people notice that we are "far behind" in this work, it means they have noticed it and that they wish to remedy the condition. The people must demand these things of the Legislature. The Legislature of Illinois will not deny us what we ask when the importance of the Historical society and its work is made apparent to it. How can we expect it to give us what we have never asked for? Too many interests press their merits upon its members to expect them to provide largely for an interest, no matter how important, unless its friends champion it and work for it. If we expect to grow, to fulfill our destiny, we must work and we must work in harmony. We must be prudent and conservative, we must mature our plans and know what we want. I again congratulate you upon the growth of the society and its pros pects. It is a young society, it is true, but it has something to show as the results of the labors of the few years of its existence, and though it is but an infant, it is a most hopeful and promising one.

Respectfully submitted. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

*Secretary to the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

# TREASURER'S REPORT.

## JANUARY, 1905—JANUARY, 1906.

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### Report of the Treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society January, 1905—January, 1906.

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|---|---|
| Amount on hand from 1904 | $ 30 54 |
| Received from annual dues and one life membership | 163 00 |
| | $193 54 |
| Total receipts | $193 54 |

EXPENDITURES, JANUARY, 1905, JANUARY, 1906.

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid for printing programs, circulars, etc | $26 50 |
| Postage | 13 00 |
| Maldaner & Son, supplies for annual meeting | 14 60 |
| David McCulloch, expenses to Galesburg, meeting Press Association | 4 00 |
| Bessie O'Brien, services at annual meeting | 10 00 |
| R. A. Guest, services at annual meeting | 10 00 |
| R. L. Berry, rent of piano | 4 00 |
| Emanuel Salzenstein, carriage (twice) for J. P. Dunn and wife | 4 00 |
| Leland Hotel, board for J. P. Dunn and wife | 9 00 |
| Brown & Canfield, supplies for annual meeting | 2 00 |
| Bell Miller, supplies for annual meeting | 2 35 |
| J. H. Burnham, expenses | 4 50 |
| C. K. Bolton, Boston copying | 3 40 |
| Woman's Club circular | 3 79 |
| Jessie Palmer Weber, Chicago and return | 22 10 |
| Alfred Orendorff, expenses to Galesburg and return, meeting of Illinois Press Association | 7 50 |
| Type-writing | 13 90 |
| Postage | 11 25 |
| | $165 89 |
| Total expenditures | $165 89 |
| Total receipts | $193 54 |
| Expenditures | 165 89 |
| | $27 65 |
| Balance on hand | $27 65 |

## REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

*The Illinois State Historical Society.*

GENTLEMEN—Your committee on publication begs leave to submit the following report:

The work of the committee during the present year has consisted, substantially, in the preparation of the annual volume of Transactions now passing through the press. Early in the spring a circular letter was sent to a considerable number of persons who, it was thought, might have matter suitable for publication. The circular contains a statement of the various kinds of material desired, including historical manuscripts hitherto unprinted, monographic essays based on the scources, reminiscences, and bibliographies. Some material for each of these classes is included in the forthcoming volume in which there will also be found a fuller statement of the committee's recommendations for future publications. The committee desires especially to urge the contribution of unprinted source, material, such as the letters of prominent public men.

Respectfully submitted,

EVERETS B. GREENE,

*Chairman, Committee on Publication.*

# REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., January 24, 1906.

*To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:*

There are many evidences of a rapidly growing public interest in local as well as general history. Among these evidences may be mentioned the increasing attention now being given to anniversary celebrations, the greater space devoted by the press to historical articles, and the larger appropriations granted by our State Legislature for such purposes as monuments marking Revolutionary forts, sites of battles or skirmishes during the war of 1812, the Indian and Civil wars, the latter class of monuments being of munificent proportions.

We are glad to report that St. Clair county has lately organized a county historical society which bids fair to utilize that ancient county's great wealth of historical materials, which possesses not only a local interest, but is of even more than State importance.

In order to properly stimulate the organization of new local historical societies, and assist those already organized to work to better advantage to themselves, and at the same time to harmoniously and vigorously assist the State society in its larger field of labor, it is necessary for us to give more careful thought and more energetic action to this important subject, which is at present in rather a chaotic and unsettled condition. At the Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association, in December, 1904, the relation of state historical societies to each other, and the relation of local societies to the state societies, received careful attention. Most of the discussion, however, concerned the relations of state societies, and the important question of local societies was postponed to the Baltimore meeting of the association, which took place a month ago. We have not yet had access to the conclusions arrived at, which were probably of such great importance that we ought to postpone our recommendations concerning local historical societies to our next annual meeting, in order to be able, if we think best, to proceed in harmony with the recommendations of the National Historical Association, the leading historical association of the country.

At the Chicago meeting referred to above, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, of the Iowa State Historical Society, made the following reference to local societies, which is so truthful and comprehensive that the quotation here made proves to us that from such able minds we may reasonably expect to receive the inspiration and assistance so much needed.

"The State Historical Society, with its larger library and collections, its broader scope, its publications, and its touch with American and world history, will attract, stimulate and encourage the scholar. On the other hand, the local society of the town or county, with its more popular membership, can do most to arouse that local patriotism and foster that spirit of local provincialism which, when widely diffused throughout the community, means for the state society that moral support which leads to rich gifts and large appropriations. Thus the state and local societies, being mutually supplementary, may through affiliation and coöperation become effective in spreading the gospel of historical interest."

A bill for an act to enable county boards in certain cases to publish the proceedings of local historical societies, came very near becoming a law at the last term of the Legislature of Illinois. Its failure was said to be owing entirely to the press of business in the closing hours of the session, and there is good reason to believe a similar measure will fare better at the next session. There is every probability that the work of our local societies would be greatly stimulated by a law such as the one proposed last winter. We would suggest that at the meeting of this society next winter, the bill which was then before the Legislature be recommended, and also such other legislation as may be thought advisable.

We would also suggest that at the next annual meeting of the State Historical Society the subject of local historical societies be given a place on the program by such recognition as may be thought wise, in order to bring the whole matter prominently before the general public. It may be out of place here, but we cannot refrain from urging upon the friends of historical investigation the importance of the organization of a State Genealogical Society. The citizens of this great State possess a remarkably varied ancestry, coming from nearly all the states of this union and from all the nations of Europe. Already there are large numbers of people deeply interested in genealogical investigations and the work should be undertaken at once by competent and enthusiastic students.

In conclusion, we desire to compliment such local societies as have persevered in historical work, to urge the dilatory societies to renewed effort, and to advise the immediate organization of new societies for coöperation with the State Historical Societies in all places where there is any hope of successful effort.

J. H. Burnham.
*Chairman.*

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858.

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The committee appointed to encourage the proper observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, is made up of one representative from each of the seven cities in which the debates were held, together with one representative from Springfield and one from Chicago. As thus composed, the committee consists of: E. E. Sparks, chairman; Smith D. Atkins, Freeport; Clark E. Carr, Galesburg; H. W. Clendenin, Springfield; M. C. Crawford, Jonesboro; W. H. Collins, Quincy; Sumner S. Anderson, Charleston; W. T. Norton, Alton.

The first meeting was held at Springfield, April 1, 1905. It was decided to provide for a celebration in each of the seven places where the debates were held, the principal exercises to be given on the anniversary day of each as nearly as possible. Efforts looking toward the erection of tablets commemorative of the debate, were to be encouraged. Loan collections were also suggested, the articles illustrating the lives of each of the debaters to constitute the nucleus of permanent exhibitions. Efforts were also to be made to collect contemporaneous accounts from newspapers of the day. Arrangement of details of the several celebrations were left to the individual members of the committee from the several places,

The newspapers of the State have printed several encouraging editorials on the proposed celebrations. It is to be hoped that the public schools of the State will call attention in their rhetorical work and by special celebration to the formative influence of these debates on both State and nation. Some arrangement may be possible by which a syllabus and a suggestive outline of exercises suitable for schools can be printed for general distribution. The many women's clubs of the State will, no doubt, coöperate by devoting some part of their programs and study classes during 1908 to the debates and the debaters.

The attention of the advisory committee of the Illinois Historical Library has been called to the desirability of devoting a volume to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Although the series has been reprinted

several times, no attempt has been made to include contemporaneous accounts of the circumstances under which the speeches were delivered, nor has any estimate been made of their results. A comprehensive and authentic history of the debates would be a credit to the publications of the library.

No doubt the Program Committee of the Illinois Historical Society will aid the celebration by setting aside a portion or all the annual program and the printed proceedings for the year 1908 to the debates and the careers of Lincoln and of Douglas. Other suggestions will undoubtedly arise as the year approaches. The committee asks a hearty coöperation from all members of the society in this important work.

The Committee on Marking Historical Places has had no opportunity of exhibiting great activity during the past year. The work of arousing public enthusiasm in any enterprise is difficult and the difficulty is increased by the distance in time. The women of Kankakee have undertaken the erection of a tablet or monument to Bourbonnais. The grave of Father Kinnison, supposed last survivor of the Boston Tea Party, was marked in Lincoln Park, Chicago. An attempt to place a granite boulder in the Lake Front Park, Chicago, in memory of one of the many claimants to the first use of anæsthetics, was frustrated by the park board. Likewise, a club of women appropriated a sum for placing a tablet on the public library, which stands on a part of the Fort Dearborn reservation, but the action was prevented by the opposition of the Board of Directors of the Library.

Evidently the work of the committee may well be directed to creating a new view among those in charge of public property, which shall see in commemorative tablets and monuments something more than disfigurements. On the other hand, those in charge of promoting these public enterprises must remember that both tablets and monuments must be in harmony with their surroundings and in accord with the eternal fitness of things.

Whenever the condition of the treasury of the Historical society will allow a small appropriation for this purpose, or whenever a citizen able and willing shall donate a sum, the committee hopes to enter upon a printed propaganda throughout the State which will bring results. As a preliminary action there should be placed on file in the rooms of the society a list of all historic places in Illinois, showing those marked and those unmarked. To secure this would require funds for writing and for postage. The list should be supplemented by photographs of all tablets and monuments hitherto placed. To secure these would require a still larger fund. In the meantime, the committee hopes to prove its fidelity in a small way by encouraging efforts looking toward a continuation of this laudable work.

## DIRECTORS' MEETINGS, JANUARY 24-25, 1906.

### Directors' Meeting, January 24, 1906, 9:00 o'clock a. m.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the rooms of the Illinois State Historical Library, January 24, 1906, at 9:00 o'clock a. m.

There were present—President Alfred Orendorff, who presided; J. W. Clinton, J. H. Burnham, E. B. Greene, G. W. Smith, E. E. Sparks, Jessie Palmer Weber ; and by invitation, Mr. Paul Selby, vice president of the society.

The secretary's report was read and approved. The treasurer's report was read and approved.

The question as to what course to pursue in the matter of members of the society who fail to pay their dues was discussed, and referred to a committee, the membership of which is Jessie Palmer Weber, E. B. Greene, E. E. Sparks.

Captain J. H. Burnham said that the Committee on By-Laws had found that the constitution of the society answered all purposes for the guidance of the society, and he recommended that the committee be discharged and the constitution be regarded as the law governing the society and its affairs. Action on this matter was deferred until the business meeting of the society, or if necessary a later meeting of the board of directors.

Reports of the several committees was received and ordered read at the business meeting of the society.

The directors' meeting adjourned to meet at the close of the morning session, (the same day; January 24, 1906,) of the annual meeting of the society.

### Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, 12:00 O'clock Noon, Wednesday, January 24, 1906.

Present—President Alfred Orendorff, J. H. Burnham, J. W. Clinton, George W. Smith, E. B. Greene, E. E. Sparks, Jessie Palmer Weber.

Mr. Paul Selby was present and presented the invitation of the Chicago Commercial Association to the society, to hold its next annual meeting in Chicago. Mr. Selby presented a letter from the officers of the association in which the invitation was formerly presented. The matter was discussed at some length by Messrs. Sparks, Greene, Orendorff, and Burnham. Professor George W. Smith

moved, and the motion was seconded by Captain J. H. Burnham, that the secretary be directed to acknowledge the invitation and to state to the association that its invitation will receive due consideration. This motion was carried.

Professor E. B. Greene moved that the matter of the place of holding the annual meeting of the society for 1908 be referred to the Program Committee and that the committee be requested to report to the 1907 annual meeting. The motion was seconded by Professor Sparks, and being put to vote, was carried.

Professor Sparks spoke of the necessity of raising funds for the celebration of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, in 1908. The manner of raising the necessary money was discussed. Professor Greene moved that the president, the secretary and Professor Sparks be made a committee to take such steps and formulate such plans as may be necessary to raise funds for the celebration of the semi-centennial. This motion was seconded by Captain Burnham, and was carried.

On motion of Mr. J. W. Clinton, General Alfred Orendorff was re-elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the society, and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was re-elected secretary and treasurer of the society.

The meeting of the board of directors adjourned.

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## Director's Meeting Wednesday, January 24, 1906, 4:50 o'clock P. M.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the librarian's room of the State Historical Library January 24, 1906, at 4:50 o'clock p. m.

Present—President Alfred Orendorff, Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, J. W. Clinton, E. B. Greene, George W. Smith, E. E. Sparks, J. H. Burnham, Jessie Palmer Weber. President Orendorff presided.

Committees of the society were appointed as follows:

### PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

E. B. Greene, Urbana, Chairman.

George N. Black, Springfield.
George W. Smith, Carbondale,
George A. Dupuy, Chicago.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

### PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Jessie Palmer Weber, Chairman.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
J. A. James, Evanston.
Charles P. Kane, Springfield,
C. H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville.
Mrs. Catherine Goss Wheeler, Springfield.
Paul Selby, Chicago.
Wm. A. Meese, Moline.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio*.

FINANCE AND AUDITING COMMITTEE

George N. Black, Springfield, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana. Jessie Palmer Weber,
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
Henry McCormick, Normal.
Andrew Russell, Jacksonville.
J. McCan Davis, Springfield,
R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
George N. Black, Springfield.
E. A. Snively, Springfield.
O. F. Berry, Carthage.
David McCulloch, Peoria.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Chairman.

David McCulloch, Peoria.
George W. Smith, Carbondale.
W. W. Davis, Sterling.
J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.
Frank J. Heinl, Jacksnoville.
J. Seymour Currey, Evanston.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

Charles L. Capen, Bloomington, Chairman.

J. W. Clinton, Polo.
Daniel Berry, M. D., Carmi.
John M. Rapp, Fairfield.
Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville.
Miss May Latham, Lincoln.
J. N. Perrin, Belleville.
Wm. Jayne, M. D., Springfield.
Arthur L. Harvick, Vienna.
E. M. Bowman, Alton.
Dr. A. W. French, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858.

Edwin Erle Sparks, Chicago, Chairman.

E. C. Swift, Ottawa.
Clark E. Carr, Galesburg.
M. C. Crawford, Jonesboro.
Sumner S. Anderson, Charleston.
Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
H. W. Clendenin, Springfield.
W. N. Collins, Quincy.
W. F. Norton, Alton.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES IN ILLINOIS

Edwin Erle Sparks, Chicago, Chairman.

Harry Ainsworth, Moline.
Mrs. M. T. Scott, Bloomington,
Reed Green, Cairo.
Col. D. C. Smith, Normal.
J. H. Collins, Springfield.
Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

Georgia L. Osborne, Springfield, Chairman.

Mrs. E. G. Crabbe, Springfield. Mrs. E. S. Walker, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex-officio.*

The question of finance was discussed. President Orendorff said that he had had a conversation with President James of the Library Board as to the use of the fund appropriated by the last Legislature for the uses of the society. It was the opinion of President Orendorff that the expenses of the directors in attending meetings should be paid by the society. Captain Burnham and the secretary of the society (Mrs. Weber), each made some remarks touching this matter. It was decided that the matter of the State fund be left to the president and secretary, in conjunction with the board of trustees of the library.

Captain J. H. Burnham spoke at some length upon the changes in the courses of the rivers in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, and upon the importance and necessity of having charts and maps made showing the conditions and changes. The matter was upon motion referred to the Board of Trustees of the Library.

It was moved, seconded and the motion was carried, that the president and secretary of the society, when asked to do so by local historical societies or clubs, furnish speakers for meetings of such societies or clubs, if said societies or clubs will pay the expenses of the speakers.

The board of directors' meeting then on motion, adjourned.

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The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, met in the librarian's room in the Illinois State Historical Library, Thursday, January 25, at 12:00 o'clock noon.

Present—President, Alfred Orendorff, J. H. Burnham, J. W. Clinton, M. H. Chamberlin, George W. Smith, Jessie Palmer Weber.

The following named persons were recommended for honorary membership in the Illinois State Historical Society and the secretary was directed to present their names to the Society for confirmation:

Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ills.
Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg, Ills.
Professor N. Dwight Harris, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis.
Mrs. Caroline M. B. Kane, Springfield, Ills.
Miss Caroline M. McIlvain, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ills.
Hon. S. M. Cullom, Springfield, Ills.
Hon. A. E. Stevenson, Bloomington, Ills.
Professor Frederick J. Turner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Dr. Samuel Willard, Chicago, Ills.
Mrs. Eliza Kincaid Wilson, Sterling, Ills.

Professor George W. Smith asked if it would be possible to obtain permission to use cuts or pictures from the transactions of the society for illustrations for historical articles. The matter was, on motion, referred to the Board of Trustees of the library.

There being no further business the meeting of the board of directors of the Illinois State Historical Society adjourned.

PART II.

# Papers Read at the Annual Meeting, 1906.

# SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 24-25, 1906.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1906, 9:00 A. M., IN ROOMS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY, DIRECTORS' MEETING.

3:30 A. M., BUSINESS MEETING IN THE SENATE CHAMBER.

Reports of Officers—President, Secretary and Treasurer.
Reports of Committees.
Necrologist's Report.
Election of Officers.
Miscellaneous Business.

11:00 O'CLOCK A. M.

The Finding of the Kaskaskia Records—Prof. C. W. Alvord, Urbana, Ill.
Address: Early Courts and Lawyers of Illinois.—Hon. George Dupuy, Chicago, Ill.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2:00 O'CLOCK.

Some Facts Not Hitherto Published Relating to the Mormons in Illinois—Hon. Orville F. Berry, Carthage, Ill.
Music.
The Icarians in Illinois—Mrs. I. G. Miller, Springfield, Ill.
Personal Reminiscences of Life in Illinois, 1830 to 1850—Dr. Samuel Willard, Chicago, Ill.
The Rejected Illinois County Names—Hon. W. D. Barge, Chicago, Ill.

EVENING SESSION, 7:45 O'CLOCK.

Address of Welcome—Governor Charles S. Deneen.
Response—President Alfred Orendorff.
Annual Address: Sectional Influences in Western History,—Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D., Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin.

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1906, 9:30 A. M.

Social Settlements in Illinois—Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.
Wedding of the First White Couple in the Territory which became the County of Sangamon—Hon. Charles P. Kane, Springfield, Ill.
Bourbonnais; or, the French Settlements in Kankakee County, Illinois—Hon. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee.
The Fourth Regiment Illinois Volunteers in the Mexican War—E. M. Prince, Secretary McLean County Historical Society, Bloomington.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2:00 O'CLOCK.

The Regulators and Flatheads in Southern Illinois—Hon. James A. Rose, Springfield.
The Chicago Drainage Channel, and its Forbear, the Illinois and Michigan Canal—Hon. Alexander J. Jones, former Trustee of the Sanitary District of Chicago.
Libraries as Local History Centers: The Chicago Historical Society—Miss Caroline B. McIlvain, Librarian Chicago Historical Society, Chicago.
Negro Slavery in Illinois—N. D. Harris, Ph. D., Professor in History in Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis.

EVENING SESSION, 7:45 O'CLOCK.

Address: Lincoln at Gettysburg,—Col. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg, Ill.
Reception—in Illinois State Library.

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE SOCIETY.

GOVERNOR CHARLES S. DENEEN.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:—It gives me great pleasure this evening to extend to the members of the State Historical Society a cordial welcome. The memorials to your labors, which are contained in the historical library in this building, attest the zeal and success with which you are prosecuting the work of the society. The mass of historical documents and data gathered together by you has already become so large that the demand for increased space is becoming imperative, and our State, the foremost commonwealth in the Mississippi valley, should make more ample provision for its accommodation.

The material collected by you and by the numerous affiliated local bodies will furnish to the future historians of Illinois a rich variety of material, previously inaccessible, and should result in the production of historical works of the highest class.

The story of the making of our State and of its almost magical transformation from an unbroken wilderness of prairie, forest and stream to the great commonwealth we know today, could never have been adequately told without the labors of your association. Such a history of Illinois as is made possible by your researches will be a valuable contribution to the world's historical literature, for the annals of Illinois furnish as fascinating a tale as any which can be found in the pages of history.

It is a tale which will be full of the most varied interest. Its early chapters will be alive with the romantic interest surrounding that ancient and extinct race, the mound builders, the Indian, the explorer, the missionary, the soldier, the trapper, the woodsmen, the miner and the settler. In it will be preserved for us the story of the perils which were met by the adventurous Europeans who penetrated the heart of the American continent and planted there strands of cross and crown on the banks of the Father of Waters. It will depict the building of the white village in the wilderness in the midst of hostile tribes, and will tell of Indian surprise and massacre, of the capture, the escape, the rescue. It will relate the mighty struggles waged by rival nations for dominion over the new and distant territory and their final displacement by the great republic.

The later pages will tell of the birth of civil government, of the creation in the haunts of the Indian of the institutions of the civilized

community—the church, the court, the school; of the beginning of legal administration and the replacing of the wild will of the savage by the trained discretion and orderly life of society. It will also portray the social, educational and religious life of the people. It will discourse of the rise and fall of political parties and of the part taken by the early citizens of Illinois in the affairs of the State and of the great nation of which it formed a part. It will recall the great debate in which Lincoln and Douglas defined the issues which were to be decided upon the field of battle, and will tell of the mighty response made by Illinois when her greatest son sounded the call to arms in defense of national unity. It will record the progress which our State has made in later years in every department of the world's work, and of her present proud position as one of the greatest of American commonwealths.

The weaving of these materials into the enduring fabric of history is as important a labor as could be undertaken. Every civilized community has recognized the value of historical research and has made provision for its pursuit in the extensive libraries and museums which have made famous the world's great capitals. These are not the resort of the antiquary alone, but of the student of society and the economist, who seeks in the facts of history a firm foundation for political theories, for in history alone they find a record of the actual workings of human governments.

In preserving for us the past life of our community, history confers upon our institutions a kind of immortality, and it does much more than this. History is more than a repository of past deeds. In its pages also is found the promise of the future. From its treasures are drawn the wisdom of the statesman, the eloquence of the orator, the courage of the soldier and the inspiration of the patriot. To the legislator history discovers political defects and suggests practical remedies. It is the balance wheel of social progress which preserves the equilibrium between the radical and the conservative forces of society. It provides material for song and story, and all art and literature are its debtors.

The work of historical associations is, therefore, of the highest importance, not only as erecting a memorial of the past, but as providing the safest guide for the future welfare of the State; and in welcoming you to our capital city, I express the hope that we may be indebted to your present convention for the addition of another volume to the many interesting and valuable publications which contain the result of your former labors.

## Response in Behalf of the Society by Alfred Orendorff, President of the Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Governor Deneen—The Illinois State Historical Society asks me to voice its thanks to you for your cordial greeting and words of encouragement.

The knowledge that the chief executive of the State supports and approves the objects for which this society was organized, stimulates its members to renewed and greater efforts to consumate its purposes.

It goes without saying, that in a government like ours, where the sovereignty is lodged in the people and where the will of the people is crystalized into the laws for the people, a knowledge of the first history of the State is an important element in determining which is best for the common welfare.

In view of this it seems strange that our magnificent school system did not, until the efforts of this society secured it, contain in the correction of its studies, a knowledge of the history of this State. If this society had no other claim for being called into being that would be sufficient reason for its existence.

The beautiful song of "Illinois," so exquisitely rendered by the quartette, contains a truth of which every Illinoisan should be proud. Truly, without the wonderous story of Illinois, the history of our country could not be properly written. Take from the nation's annals—Lincoln and Grant—and its brighest pages are destroyed.

In the great battle between freedom and slavery, Illinois bore a conspicuous part, commencing with its organization as a State. Its geographical position made it the keystone of the Union.

On the Mormon question an Illinoisian as representative in Congress and as a United States Senator, was the author of the legislation and an Illinoisian as judge punished and extirpated from Utah the twin relic of barbarism.

When anarchy was rampant throughout the nation the Illinois courts punished the enemies of government, and it was found that the atmosphere of our prairies was too pure for a red flag or any other in opposition to the stars and stripes.

The field is too broad and I can only say that if moral issues must be settled, if graft is to be stifled we can find no better exemplar of rugged honesty than in the contemplation of the rugged, honest, immortal Lincoln.

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The Publication Committee very deeply regrets the fact that owing to absence from his home, Prof. Frederick Jackson Turner has been unable to furnish the manuscript for the annual address which was delivered by him before the society.

## 1. THE FINDING OF THE KASKASKIA RECORDS.

(By Clarence Walworth Alvord.)

It is as an agent of the Illinois State Historical Library that I am here this morning to make a report, containing an announcement of interest and importance to students of the history of the Northwest, and particularly that of Illinois. The Kaskaskia records, long supposed to have been destroyed, have been found. Found is perhaps too strong a word, for they never were lost; but the tradition of their total destruction has been given such wide currency by Mr. E. G. Mason in his publication on "John Todd" and "John Todd's Record-Book," and so deservedly high has been the estimate placed on his historical statements, that for all practical purposes they were lost.

In the summer of 1905 the trustees of the State Historical Library sent me into southern Illinois to spend a month searching for historical materials. Much of interest was found, but the recovery of these supposedly destroyed Kaskaskia papers in Chester was the most unexpected and important find. Some information had reached me, before setting out, that my search in Chester would not be unrewarded; for I learned from several sources that record-books and papers dating from the eighteenth century were in the office of the circuit clerk, and I cherished the hope that where some were, others might not be far off.

My task was far easier than I could have anticipated. After looking over three old French record-books, which were in plain sight on the shelves; search was made for further papers. No occult science was required. On top of the cases in the circuit clerk's office, behind a cornice which surmounts them, were found three large sacks and four paper packages full of old papers. Upon investigation half of them proved to be French records written during the years 1720 and 1790. These number 2,950 according to the count of a committee appointed by the commissioners of Randolph county to make an inventory of the documents before sending them to the University of Illinois for my further study.

Since the seat of government in Illinois was removed in 1772 by the British commandant from Fort de Chartres to Kaskaskia, at which time the archives were also removed, we have in this collection, papers drawn up both at the fort and at Kaskaskia. From 1772 until

the year 1848, these papers remained in the latter town, when they were removed to Chester, that city having become the county seat of Randolph county. For many years the older papers, including the French ones, remained in the dry goods boxes in which they had been brought from Kaskaskia. They stood for about ten years in an aisle of the court house and then were placed upon the landing of the stair-case. Here they remained until about the year 1878, when the deputy circuit clerk tied them in packages and placed them where they were found last summer. This disposal of the old French documents was soon forgotten; for when Mr. Mason appeared in Chester the next year, he was informed that all had been destroyed except the record-book of John Todd, which he says was found in a receptacle for fuel in the county clerk's office.

You will naturally be interested in learning what proportion of the old Kaskaskia records have been preserved. For making such an estimate there exist data of two kinds, neither of which will give exact results; but which will yield us some idea how great the loss has been. There is in "Record A" of the recorder's office in Belleville a copy of a receipt given by the first territorial recorder of St. Clair county, William St. Clair, to Francois Carbonneaux of the Virginia court at Kaskaskia for the documents deposited by the latter in the archives of the recorder of the newly founded territory. The receipt is dated at Kaskaskia, June 12, 1790. In it, St. Clair describes six record-books, all of them more or less mutilated, and four bundles of papers entitled "Papier Terrier," and 1308 bills of sales.

Unfortunately St. Clair limited himself to the external appearance of the record-books without describing their contents. At Chester there were found three registers; but, since hard usage during the last century has left the books in a worse condition than when delivered to the United States government, I have been able to identify only one with any described by St. Clair. Whether the other two are remains of the books noted in his receipt, I have no means of telling. Of the four bundles of "Papier Terrier", which were lists of the land-holdings on the royal domain drawn up in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, only a few sheets have been preserved. Judging from the number of sales in the collection it is probable that very few of them have been lost.

The second data make it possible to estimate the number of documents that were originally deposited in the archives of Illinois during the eighteenth century, from which we may judge what proportion has been preserved. One of the books of record found in Chester is a series of indices of notarial acts drawn up at different periods. The earliest list is alphabetical and covers the years from 1720 to 1756; but since many pages have been lost from the indices of the earliest notaries in Illinois, we must base our estimate upon that of Bertlor Barrois for the years 1737 to 1756, which has been preserved in its entirety. He has indexed for these years 2029 instruments, either redacted by himself or deposited in his bureau by others. This gives

an average of 106 a year. Since very few acts were drawn up in 1720 and 1721, I shall reckon from the year 1722. If the average of 106 was maintained from 1722 to 1790, there were 7208 notarial acts redacted during those years.

Two serious objections may be made to this estimate. The years from 1737 to 1756 were the most prosperous in the history of the eighteenth century, so that such a high average for this kind of document could not have been maintained throughout the period. The second objection is that the index includes only notarial instruments and leaves out court records, depositions, papers drawn up by other officials, letters of instruction, official correspondence, etc. Possibly these two errors may approximately offset each other; but I believe my total is too small rather than the reverse.

Another part of the index is of a somewhat different character; for it contains a list of papers, received by the clerk of the court, arranged by years. In this case the clerk has not separated his duties as notary and clerk, so that the index includes papers of all kinds. Only a few years of the record have been preserved; but, since these represent different periods, we have data upon which to base an average. By years the number of acts is: 1737, 180 acts; 1752, 105 acts; 1758, 72 acts; 1783, 85 acts; 1784, 82 acts. This gives an average of 105 acts each year, which is only one less than the number obtained from the other data. Since this number does not include the official correspondence of commandants and judges, or military papers of any kind, or all the documents drawn up by the numerous officials of the governments, we must conclude that our estimate is too low and that the total number was over 8000. Since the papers discovered in Chester will not exceed 3000, between 60 and 70 per cent of the Kaskaskia papers have been lost.

Although I have not as yet made a careful study of these papers, it is possible to indicate their character. The great majority of them are notarial minutes of instruments drawn up in Fort de Chartres or Kaskaskia. They are almost all in the French language and follow the formulae of the French law. The royal French notary was a far more important official than the notary public of English law, for his acts had all the legal force of a judgment of an American court. In all affairs of life he was as frequently present as the parish priest. He, in fact, plays the counterpart in civil life to that of the priest in ecclesiastical. Like the latter he participates in marriages and is found almost as frequently at the side of the dying. His assistance is required at the formation of partnerships, at the loan of money, at the return of the same, for drawing up leases, at the settlement of estates, at the taking of inventories, at auctions, at all contracts, whether for the delivery of goods or for labor, including apprenticeship. Thus his points of contact with the business and social communities in which he moved were almost limitless and his was one of the most familiar figures in any French town or village. In the Kaskaskia collection are examples of almost every kind of act drawn up by these officials.

No great addition to the sum of our knowledge of Illinois history has been made by the finding of hundreds of such documents as

these. Relatively little is to be made out of their tiresome repetition of, "Before the royal notary in the Illinois". Still they are not to be neglected; for careful study will reveal much. Their information in regard to family histories and business methods, about the whole business and social life of these Frenchmen, is by no means small.

The notarial instruments, although the most numerous, are by no means the most important. The palm must be given to the court records, whether in books or loose papers. With the aid of these, and they are most numerous, the changing forms of government in this region may be traced as has never been done up to this time. Among the papers are many petitions for justice and for the assignment of land dating from all periods of the eighteenth century. There are also depositions before various magistrates, reports of trials and reports of the final execution of the decisions of the court. There are twenty pages of a record of the sessions of the court under the French régime, very fragmentary in character; for so many pages have been lost. The first record is of a session in the year 1737, the last of one in 1765. For the English period, there is no similar document; for whatever court records have been spared by time were carried away years ago, There is evidence that the Virginia court founded by John Todd at Kaskaskia found difficulty in supplying its clerk with blank books; for the records of the sessions of the court are found scattered on loose sheets and the blank pages of registers kept by previous clerks; but there is nothing among the Kaskaskia papers for the Virginia period comparable to the full record of the Cahokia court preserved at Belleville.

Another class of papers corresponds to the books kept by our recorders. They contain the registry of promissory notes, donations, agreements of all kinds, occasionally an ordinance or proclamation, letters of instruction, and action taken by the community. For the French period there is a record book in which were kept the registry of the appointment of guardians for minors and of the renunciation of community of goods by wives or widows. The book contains 68 pages; but only 32 were used by the French court, the remainder being utilized by a clerk of the Virginia court as a record of deeds. The best preserved of this class of books is the one kept during the English period, There were originally 444 pages in it, but 41 are now missing. It contains copies of many documents of the previous period, as well as newly redacted acts. Some of these latter are in English, but most of them in French.

Still another class of papers is formed by letters, generally, written to the magistrates in reference to legal matters; but they are not all of this character. The number from the French period is very small, from the British and later periods much larger. There are several letters from the Spanish commandant in St. Louis to the British commander and later to the Virginia justices of the peace.

The last class of documents can only be called miscellaneous. It is impossible to make any general statement in regard to their general character; but some of them are the most interesting and valuable papers of the collection. I call your attention to the earliest election returns in the Northwest. It is the announcement of the election of

two justices of the peace in May, 1779, at Prairie du Rocher. Another is a combined voting list and ballot used in the election of 1781 at Kaskaskia. There were 16 candidates and 27 voters. There is also the paper containing the oath taken by the people of Vincennes on July 24th, 1778, renouncing their allegiance to George III and taking oath to Virginia. 180 signed this paper, the great majority of them making their mark. A paper from the British period is perhaps the most interesting of all for it is a draft of a civil government for Illinois with certain popular elements. The paper has neither date, place nor signature, but evidently emanated from the military government about the year 1773.

From the description you see that the papers are for the most part private papers, such as contracts, deeds, etc., with a large number of court documents of all kinds with a smaller number of documents issuing from the administrative officers of the government. To the layman such a collection might well appear as curious but hardly of much historical value. But the historian sees in them valuable monuments of the past, true remains of past society. From these may be reconstructed the political, social and economic structure of the community from which they have come. They are for him what the footprints and bones of extinct animals in the strata of rocks are to the paleontologist. From the Kaskaskia papers, therefore, we may hope to follow the changing fate of these French settlements of the Mississipi valley year by year, as has never been done up to the present time.

Such are the Kaskaskia papers. Their recovery must be regarded as an important event in the history of Illinois historical studies, since they threw light on every period of the eighteenth century. But their importance must not be exaggerated; interesting as they are, as records of a romantic period of our past; for, in reading the crabbed hand-writing of these earliest documents of the Northwest, the historian cannot but feel that his enthusiasm is akin to that of the antiquarian; for from these French settlers did not spring the forces that have made Illinois one of the great states of our union. Our true history begins with the coming of the Virginians; and in so far as the Kaskaskia papers shed light on that event, they are of great historical value. Only incidentally are the events connected with the names of Boisbriant, D'Artaguiette, and Delalöere Flancour of interest to the historian, his interest springing from the love of truth and accuracy and his desire to know exactly what did occur before the coming of the builders of the states. Not until he reads in these papers the names of Thomas Brady, of John Edgar, and Shadrach Bond, does he realize that he is studying live forces incarnated in the men who assisted in the winning of the West.

## 2. THE EARLIEST COURTS OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

(By George Alexander Dupuy.)

It was the original purpose of this paper, to give a brief sketch of the several courts that have successively exercised jurisdiction over the Illinois country, from the date of its settlement down to about the year 1825. It was supposed at the time the preparation of the paper was undertaken, that such an one, substantially authentic and correct, could be written from the existing printed volumes of American and Illinois history. It has been ascertained since that this can not be done. A large number of ancient French court records and other documents, recently discovered at Chester and Belleville by Mr. Alvord of the University of Illinois, will throw a new flood of light upon the most obscure portion of our Illinois history. Until these documents and records, numbering more than three thousand, shall have been carefully examined, and their contents understood, it will not be possible to treat the subject above proposed, with any sort of finality. These original documents, not only contradict in many important particulars the histories heretofore written which have been considered authentic, but they will supplement and amplify our previous real knowledge, to an extent that will be highly gratifying to every student of history. Therefore any paper prepared on this general topic, before Mr. Alvord shall have completed his task of classifying and translating these records, must be considered as somewhat tentative, and as being subject to revision in important particulars. The most therefore the present writer can do, is to give the information furnished by those who have previously written, supplemented and corrected to a limited extent, by knowledge derived from a very limited examination of the contents of these papers.

I am sure that the topic itself can not be lacking in interest to students of early Illinois history, and especially to members of the legal profession. Every student of law or history, who has explored with eager interest the beginnings of English jurisprudence, who has traced the evolution of the laws, and the development of the judicial system of Britain, will be prompted by the same spirit of inquiry to examine the beginnings of the judicial tribunals of our own State; not merely of our own State as it exists today, for the term Illinois in the earlier period of our history had reference to a portion of the

OLD CAHOKIA COURT HOUSE.

province of New France that was greater in territorial extent and natural resources than the France of Louis XV—. that extended from Lake Superior to Louisiana and from the Ohio river to an undefined far-off boundary in the West.

It is with the courts of this province that we have to do in the first part of this essay. In considering our topic we shall have neither time nor space to make any but the briefest reference to the history of this country as it existed, first under the French, second under the British, third under the Americans. During this long period, reaching from the first settlement in the last decades of the seventeenth century, to the year 1825, it was successively under the dominion of these three great peoples.

### THE FRENCH PERIOD.

Materials for a critical and exact history for the first of these periods—the French period—are exceedingly scarce and difficult of access. Indeed until Mr. Alvord's recent discovery such materials were not supposed to exist in this country. No doubt there are, in the monasteries of Quebec and Montreal, in the State archives of Canada and France, and in the libraries of Paris, many manuscripts and volumes that would yield a rich return of information on this subject to one who had the time and opportunity to consult them. While the present occasion would be well worthy of an exhaustive paper based upon such research, such an undertaking is entirely beyond the limits of my time and opportunities.

A sketch covering the first part of the French period would be more an explanation of the absence of a judicial system than a history of any institution that actually existed—for during this period there scarcely was in the country such a thing as a court of law. The reason for this is not difficult to discover in the history of the times. Civil institutions are not established until the need of them has been felt, and there was small need of courts among the sparse settlements of Frenchmen at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Fort de Chartres. The people were poor; they had but little in the way of property concerning which controversies could arise; they were of a gentle, quiet, law-abiding disposition; hence, very few crimes were committed. They had been reared in a country whose laws were, in a large measure, derived from the civil laws of Rome, in which the common law and the jury system had no place. They were ardently attached to the monarchical form of government, and to the Roman Catholic Church; hence, they were submissive to authority, both in matters of civil conduct and of religious faith. They cheerfully accepted the laws given to them by the magistrate and priest, and no doubt they were glad to be rid of the trouble and perplexity of doing their own political thinking and making their own laws. They were of a type as different as can well be imagined from the stern Puritan democrats who, during this same period, were laying the foundations of Republican government and civil institutions in New England.

There is no record of any regularly organized court of law existing among the French settlers during the first quarter of a century of their history. There was at Fort Chartres during the latter part of this period a small military force, the commandant of whom was the head of the government. Such small controversies as arose were determined by him or by the village priest. The priest, in consequence of his close confidential relation to his people, was able, more in the character of an adviser than of magistrate, to settle such misunderstandings and disputes as arose among his communicants. One historian of the period says:

"The first French settlers of Illinois were deeply imbued with a spirit of justice, honesty, charity and other virtues which enabled them to exist nearly a century without a court of law. * * * The confidence inspired by the priests as the ministers of a supposed infallible church, gave them ample authority to settle, without the tardy proceedings of courts and their attendant costs, all differences which occasionally disturbed the peace of the colonists. Justice under these circumstances was dispensed, as in Israel of old, by the power of the mind to discriminate between right and wrong." [1]

Besides the "major commandant," as he was styled, who was then in chief authority in Fort Chartres or Kaskaskia, there was in each of the villages a commandant, as he was termed, who was also the captain of the local militia. This officer was elected by the voters of the village. He was a personage of much importance in his little community and, in addition to his military duties, he exercised judicial functions corresponding somewhat to those of a modern justice of the peace. From his decisions an appeal lay to the major commandant. The judgments of this latter officer were final except in capital cases, in which appeals were cognizable by the Superior Council of Louisiana. This Council, sitting at New Orleans, consisted of the intendant, who was styled the "First Judge," and of the King's Attorney, the Register of the province, and six principal citizens, all of whom were appointed by the King. [2]

The first regularly organized court of which we have any knowledge was established in 1722. At that date an act or "regulation" was promulgated

"for the establishment of a provincial council in Illinois to exercise primary jurisdiction in matters civil as well as criminal and to direct the affairs of the company in that region and its dependencies. The council will consist of Sr. de Boisbriant, the Sr. de La Loere, the elder, chief clerk, the Sr. de Chassin, store-keeper, and Sr. Perillan, who will at the time be clerk of the Council." [3]

The Sr. de Boisbriant was at that time, and during the three years succeeding, the commandant at Fort de Chartres.

This court held sessions for the dispatch of business until 1726, when there was established a court which seems to have been somewhat more strictly a judicial court. This court bore the rather high-sounding title of "The Court or Audience of the Royal Jurisdiction of the Illinois." The specific reasons that called it into existence

1 Davidson & Stuve, *History of Illinois*, 212.
2 Breese, *Early History of Illinois*, 216.
3 *Canadian Archives*, 1904, Appendix K, p. 10.

are difficult to discover at this time, but they can be easily conjectured. The population of the colony had grown to a considerable extent and was still rapidly increasing. The property interests were augmenting, and the necessity of a court in the midst of the people was becoming more and more pressing. It was exceedingly tedious, difficult and expensive to prosecute appeals from the judgments and decisions of the commandant to a hearing before the Superior Council at New Orleans.

The sessions of this court were held first at Fort Chartres, and a little later at Kaskaskia. Notwithstanding the very imposing name of the court, it appears to have been extremely simple in its constitution. It was held by a single judge without any assistance from the military commandant, and without the aid of a jury. He was assisted, however, by a royal attorney and notary clerk. The judge heard the causes, which were submitted either orally, or upon a brief petition in writing, and entered his decisions in a record book called the 'Register." I cannot forbear to recite here one of these judgments or decrees of the year 1756, as an illustration of the simplicity of procedure and the quaintness of the record. It ran as follows:

"Between Raymond Brosse, called Saint Cernay, inhabitant of Kaskaskia, plaintiff, to the effect that the defendant, Charles Lorain, be made to acknowledge a note for sixty francs, executed by the deceased, Louis Langlois, and by Louise Girardy, his widow, now the wife of Charles Lorain, the aforesaid defendant on the other part. The said note being examined, the parties heard and all things considered, we condemn the defendant to pay, without delay, to the plaintiff the sum of sixty francs (livers), the amount of said note, and also the cost of suit, which we have taxed at twenty-eight francs and ten cents (sols). Done at New Chartre, in our hearing, we holding court, Saturday, the 5th of June, 1756. Chevallier."*

Many of these judgments or decrees are to be found in the recently discovered record of this court, to which I have already alluded. This court remained in existence and continued to hold its sessions until the end of the French régime.

The system of laws which was established not only for the Illinois country, but for the whole of New France, was the "Custom of Paris." These were the laws under which justice was administered by the "Court or Audience of the Royal Jurisdiction of the Illinois" at Kaskaskia and New Chartres. A few words of explanation may be given concerning this system of laws. The term "Custom" or "Customs' as used in the French laws of this period and of an earlier date, signified that body of well known and generally understood usuages that prevailed within a given city or province. These "Customs," technically so-called, originated in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which were periods of the greatest ignorance and intellectual darkness, as well as of great social violence and disorder. The Roman laws, especially the code of Theodosious, had always had much authority in all parts of France. This law was freely consulted, especially in matters relating to contracts, conditions, titles to property and other fundamental topics, but it is manifest that many new

* Breese, *Early History of Illinois*, 217-219

laws were needed in such a condition of society as sprang up during the feudal times. Feudalism, which was then at its height, brought in a whole vast social system unknown to the Roman law. The Catholic Church, then rapidly dominating all Europe, wrought vast changes in the relations of men to each other and to society. In the settlement of controversies growing out of these new relations, new principles and decisions were necessarily demanded. These principals and decisions became the "custom" of the city or province in which they were administered. Since at this time the royal influence was at its lowest ebb, and the power of the feudal barons was at its greatest height, it was most natural that the people of each province should make no point of having laws and customs in common with other parts of the kingdom. Hence, history mentions the Custom of Burgundy, the Custom of Orleans, the Custom of Paris, the Custom of Brittany, etc. There were about sixty of these principal Customs in France; and of these, as before stated, the Custom of Paris was adopted as the law to govern in the administration of justice in the Courts of New France.

The reason why the Custom of Paris was selected in preference to any of the others, I have not ascertained. An inquiry as to those peculiarities of the Custom of Paris, which distinguished it from the other Customs prevailing in the provinces of France, would be an interesting topic of research, but it is wholly outside of the scope of this paper. It is sufficient to say that the courts of Illinois in settling the disputes or controversies that arose between the citizens of this remote outpost of civilization in the western wilderness, were guided by the same laws that dictated the decisions of the judges of Louis XV sitting in the royal palaces of justice on the banks of the Seine.

## ENGLISH PERIOD.

The year 1764 marked a new and wholly distinct epoch in the political history of the Illinois country, and necessarily also in the history of its judicial institutions. On the 10th day of October of that year, the fleur de lis was lowered for the last time from the ramparts of Fort Chartres, and in its place rose the banner of Saint George. That day marked the end of the dominion of France in the valley of the Mississipi, and the beginning of the domination of the Anglo-Saxon. By the terms of the treaty of Paris, all this vast territory east of the river passed over to Great Britain. The disappointment and chagrin of the French people of the settlements was intense. Fully one-third of them, comprising most of the people of wealth and prominence, unable to reconcile themselves to living under the rule of the hated English, took all of their portable possessions and made their way to New Orleans, St. Genevieve, Mobile or St Louis. Those who remained were intensely dissatisfied with the new order of things. The tranquil and happy state of society that had existed under the old régime, was superseded by conditions of disquiet and uneasiness. The British government, however, had already wisely adopted a course of pacification. General Gage, the

chief commander of the British forces in North America, issued a proclamation, dated at New York, on December 30, 1764, in which such of the French people as still remained were granted the full liberty of the Catholic religion and the right of an unmolested removal of their portable goods to other communities.

On the 5th day of September, 1768, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins arrived as commander or governor at Fort Chartres. He brought orders for the establishment of a court to have jurisdiction for the trial of all controversies between the inhabitants. It is a reasonable surmise that between the first taking of possession by the English in 1764, and the date of Colonel Wilkins' arrival, there had been no regular administration of justice by any established court. Further research may give us reliable information concerning this. Although I have not been able to learn definitely that such was the fact, it is fair to presume that the judge or judges of the court of Royal Audience went away with the other principal families in the hegira that followed the lowering of the ensign of France from the walls of Fort Chartres.

By the proclamation of Colonel Wilkins, issued in September, 1768, there was established a court consisting of seven persons appointed by him, as magistrates or judges. These were to sit as a civil tribunal and hold monthly terms of court. The common law of England, of which we are so justly proud, and to which all Anglo-Saxon peoples are so devotedly attached, took the place of the "Custom of Paris." Trial by jury was introduced either then or not very long thereafter, and such procedure prevailed as had grown up through long centuries of development in the courts of London, York and Chester. It is unfortunate that neither the official name of this court nor the names of its first judges have been preserved by the historians whose writings cover this period.

Within about three months after the organization of this court, namely, on the 6th day of December, 1768, it held its first session for the trial of causes at Fort Chartres. In the absence of any detailed report of the first sitting of the court, we are left without information concerning many things incident thereto which it would be exceedingly interesting to know. We can, however, easily picture to our minds many things connected with this first session. The court must necessarily have been held in some of the buildings within the walls of the fort, either in the big stone government house, or in the great warehouse of the Royal Company of the Indies. The garrison soldiers in uniform, the fur traders, *coureurs de bois*, and the French peasant people from the villages around, undoubtedly made up the list of those who were in attendance. As the new magistrates were not trained lawyers or experienced judges, we can imagine a degree of diffidence marked their proceedings. The first session must surely have been very brief, for not more than a very short docket of cases could have accumulated in the space of three months.

For several reasons, this court did not acquire popular esteem. The judges, being untrained and selected from the body of the people, were not very competent. And then, the people of the country

greatly preferred their old laws to the English common law. Trial by jury was intensely unpopular. It was peculiarly unsuited to the genius of the French mind. It seemed to these people, as they said, the height of absurdity that these English should require them to submit their disputes to a nondescript court made up of one judge and a dozen jurors who were carpenters, shoemakers, artisans and other tradespeople, rather than to judges trained for their profession and learned in the law.* The clamor against trial by jury later became so loud that in 1774 parliament restored the ancient French laws and dispensed with trials by jury. This was highly gratifying to the people of the Illinois country, and had a decided tendency to replace discontent with feelings of security and satisfaction, although this action of the British parliament—as it might be noted in passing—was a cause of alarm and of severe denunciation in the New England colonies. Indeed, it was this action of the British parliament that led to that ringing indictment of George III in the Declaration of Independence:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

VIRGINIA PERIOD.

The 4th day of July, 1778 marks the beginning of another entirely new and distinct epoch in the history of the Illinois country. It was on that day that the intrepid backwoods warrior, George Rogers Clark, entered Kaskaskia in triumph and took possession thereof in the name of Virginia. His decisive, bloodless campaign ended forever the domination of Great Britain and put the country in a way to become a part of the great American commonwealth.

One of the first acts of Clark was to make provisions for the administration of justice in the newly conquered territory. He relates this in his memoirs where he says:

"I inquired particularly into the manner the people had been governed formerly, and much to my satisfaction (I found) that it had been generally as severe as under the militia law. I was determined to make an advantage of it, and took every step in my power to cause the people to feel the blessings enjoyed by an American citizen, which I soon discovered enabled me to support, from their own choice, almost a supreme authority over them. I caused a court of civil jurisdiction to be established at Cahokia, elected by the people. Major Bowman to the surprise of the people held a pole for a magistracy, and was elected and acted as judge of the court (manuscript here eligible). After this similar courts were established, in the towns of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent. There was an appeal to myself in certain cases, and I believe that no people ever had their business done more to their satisfaction, than they had through the means of these regulations for a considerable time."

* Mr. Alvord is of the opinion that trials by jury did not prevail under the English. He says: "This court did not introduce trial by jury as has been stated" (by other writers). Also "The trials (by this court) were held without jury." The first record he finds of trial by jury was in 1780.

This court was in session as early as November 2, 1778—four months after Clark's arrival. Some of the records of its proceedings are still extant. In them it is designated as "Court of the Committee of Cahos" (Cahokia). These records show that it exercised jurisdiction both civil and criminal. Major Bowman was president of the court and Lieutenant Perrault was vice-president. The court consisted of seven judges, as had been the case with the preceding court established by Colonel Wilkins. At one time these judges were Langlois, Gratiot, Girardin, Granot, Beaulieu and Captains Trottier and Turanjeau.

In October, 1778, the Virginia Assembly erected this territory into the "County of Illinois" and required the election of officers "for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice" such as the inhabitants were accustomed to. A few months later, on December 12 of the same year, Governor Patrick Henry appointed Colonel John Todd commandant of the county. It appears that Todd established a court on the model of the courts in other counties of Virginia. This court consisted of the County Lieutenant and the justices of the peace of the county. Colonel Todd spent but little time in the county. He was killed at the battle of Blue Licks in Kentucky in 1782. This court continued until 1790.

FEDERAL PERIOD.

On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded this territory to the United States, and in 1787 Congress passed an Act for the government of this territory. This Act was the famous "Ordinance of 1787" so often referred to in our history. In establishing a scheme of government for the territory northwest of the Ohio river, it provided for the appointment of three judges, with common law jurisdiction, and established the right of trial by jury. This ordinance expressly saved to the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages, who had theretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs theretofore in force among them relating to the descent and conveyance of property. It also vested legislative power in the governor and judges, and provided that such laws as they enacted should be in force until such time as the legislature should be organized, unless sooner disapproved by Congress. The governor and judges were to adopt and publish "such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the districts."

On October 5, 1787, General Arthur St. Clair was selected by Congress as governor of this northwest territory. Shortly afterwards, Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum and John Cleaves Symmes were made judges of the court provided for in this ordinance. In the summer of 1788, the governor and these judges met at Marietta, within the presnt State of Ohio, then the seat of government of the county of Illinois, and adopted a system of laws for the government of the territory. Inasmuch as no prisons or jails had yet been erected, the punishments provided in their criminal code were decidedly summary. Death was inflicted for murder, treason and (in some

cases) for arson. Whipping, stocks and pillory were brought into frequent requisition. For non-payment of fines the sheriff might bind out the culprit for a term of years. I have not been able to learn whether this court held sessions at any place except Marietta; certain it is, no sessions thereof were ever held within the present boundaries of Illinois.

This period, extending from 1787 to 1790, was emphatically a period of transition, the going over from one system to another, and the uncertainty and inconvenience of it were felt nowhere so greatly as in Kaskaskia and vicinity—these settlements being the most remote from the seat of government. In Kaskaskia and the adjacent villages through a period of several years the civil courts of law held only irregular sessions, if any, and no civil government worthy of mention existed. Not only was this so, but it was very uncertain what laws were to be regarded as in force. The English had in 1768 introduced the common law. Then in 1774 the English parliament had restored the "Custom of Paris," as the law of the country. Then the ordinance of 1787 re-established the common law—with certain exceptions. All this within the space of a few years left the law and the means of its administration in the Illinois country in a state of great confusion.

February, 1790, is the beginning of another era in the judicial history of Illinois. On that date Governor St. Clair arrived at Kaskaskia and proceeded to organize a county which embraced all the territory of our state as it now exists, lying south of the mouth of the little Mackinaw creek and the Illinois river. This county, as we all know, was named for the governor. It was divided into three judicial districts and a court, with was known as the Court of Common Pleas, was established in each of these districts. Three judges were appointed, namely. John Edgar, of Kaskaskia; Jean Baptiste Barbeau, of Prairie du Rocher, and John de Moulin, of Cahokia. A term of court was to be held every three months, and so it came about that the court acquired the popular appellation of "court of quarter sessions."

In addition to these courts, justices of the peace were appointed at convenient places in various portions of the county, with a jurisdiction limited to $20.00. An appeal lay from their judgments to the common pleas court. Jury trials were discountenanced before justices. It would seem that more of these petty magistrates should have been provided, as distances were so great. One instance is related by one of the historians of the time, of a case where, on account of the distance between the places of residence of the litigants and the place of the sitting of the court, the sheriff's fees and mileage amounted to $900, while the amount of judgment was but $16.

I am sure that everything pertaining to these courts, and to the judges who presided over them, has a peculiar interest for us. They are the connecting links in our history between the old order of things and the judicial institutions of the present epoch. Beyond them everything is vague and uncertain, lost in the obscurity of a long-gone past. From their time on, we are not lacking in complete information. Many men who were the immediate successors of the judges of these courts have been alive and active until very recent times. Several of these, as Reynolds, Ford, Breese, and others, have

left us written records of subsequent times in which they lived. These older judges were themselves at once a part of the old regime, and a part of the new. With the beginnings of this court the common law had finally overthrown the civil law and the Custom of Paris. The ages-old customs of the Enlish people had finally supplanted the system of usages that grew up among the inhabitants of Burgundy and Paris. But the names of Barbeau and de Moulin tell us unmistakably that these two judges were of French, not of English origin.

The peculiar interest with which these new courts and their first judges are invested justifies a moment's notice of these men. We recall them, not because they were giants in law or jurisprudence, as were Blackstone and Mansfield, Marshall, and Story, but because they dwelt both in the twilight of a dying and retreating civilization, and also in the dawn of a newer and greater; because they lived in a romantic, formative period in the history of our beloved state, the annals of whose institutions we love to study and whose traditions we love to perpetuate.

John de Moulin, of Cahokia, justice of the common pleas court for the Cahokia district, was a native of Switzerland. He came from Canada to Cahokia shortly before the time of his appointment. His talents and personality were such as to make him immediately popular. In personal appearance he was handsome and commanding. His education was liberal, as he was well versed in classic learning, and was a lawyer possessing a respectable knowledge of the civil law. He was a trained military commander and was soon elected colonel of the militia of the county. He was a great figure on parade days, as in a handsome uniform, in which he took great pride, he reviewed his troops. He was an active and successful dealer in lands and acquired quite a fortune for his time. He was for during years a justice of the peace, probate judge and judge of the court of quarter sessions. His death occurred in 1808.

General Edgar, another of the common pleas judges, residing in Kaskaskia, was an Irishman by birth. He left the naval service of Great Britain at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and arrived at Kaskaskia in 1784. He subsequently lived there nearly half a century, dying at the same place in 1832. He was a stalwart character in that frontier community. Large and portly in person, easy, gracious and accomplished in manner, open-hearted and generous in disposition, with the largest wealth of any resident of the country, living in a handsome mansion, his home the center of whatever there was of fashionable life in the region—he was easily the most conspicuous man of the community. Like his colleague, de Moulin, he was a long justice of the peace, probate judge and finally one of the first judges of the newly established common pleas court.

Of the third judge, Jean Baptist Barbeau, I have not been able to learn much. One historian says he was of the original French-Canadian stock long settled in the Illinois, of fair business talent, and of extensive experience.

Jean Francis Perry, a lawyer from Lyons, France, a man of extensive and varied acquirements, with an interesting and eventful history, long a resident of Prairie du Pont, shortly afterwards became a judge of the court and served as such many years.

The writer of this paper has examined the records of this court, a part of which at least are still preserved in the courthouse at Belleville. Mr. Alvord[1] has fully described these.

## INDIANA TERRITORY PERIOD.

In the spring of 1800 another mutation was at hand. By act of May 7, of that year, the extensive Northwest Territory was divided. The western portion of it, comprising the present States of Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana, was constituted the Indiana territory. The principal reason for this action was the great extent of the region. The congressional committee reported that in the two counties of Illinois, viz., Randolph and St. Clair, there had been held in five years only one term of a court which had jurisdiction to try criminal offenses.

On the 13th of May, 1800, General William Henry Harrison was appointed Governor of Indiana Territory, thus superseding General St. Clair as the chief executive. At the same time William Clark, John Griffin and Henry Vanderburgh were appointed territorial judges. The governor and judges, as under the ordinance of 1787, possessed legislative powers.

In January, 1801, the governor convened the judges, to take action for the adoption of "such laws as the exigency of the times" required. Among laws which they adopted at this time was one which established courts of quarter sessions of the peace in the Illinois counties of St. Clair and Randolph. Shortly afterward, on the 3rd day of March, 1801, a general term of court for the Indiana Territory was held by the three judges—doubtless sitting at Vincennes, then the Territorial seat of Government.[2]

## ILLINOIS TERRITORY PERIOD.

The year 1809 marks another important date in the judicial as well as the general political history of Illinois. By an act of Congress of February 3rd of that year, the Indiana Territory was divided and the western portion of it became the Territory of Illinois. This effected another complete change in the courts of the country. Alexander Stuart, Obadiah Jones and Jesse Burger Thomas were appointed judges. Ninian Edwards, who prior to that time had been chief justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, was appointed governor of the new Illinois Territory by President Madison. His commission bore date April 24, 1809. On the 11th day of June, Governor Edwards assumed the duties of his office. One of his earliest acts was to convene a meeting of the judges, for the adoption of a code of laws for the government of the said territory. The governor

1 Alvord, *Illinois in Eighteenth Century*, Bulletin Ill. St. Hist. Lib., Series 1, No. 1.
2 Davidson & Stuve, *History of Illinois*.

and the judges were empowered by the fifth section of Ordinance of 1787, as we have already seen, to adopt such a code. At this meeting were present the governor and Judges Stuart and Thomas, the latter having but recently returned from Washington. They re-enacted or re-adopted for the most part the laws of the Indiana Territory, which had been in force prior to the separation. Many of these laws were the same that had been adopted by the judges of the Northwest Territory, from the codes of the older states. The common law of England was put in force in said territory by article 2 of the Ordinance of 1787, and the same, of course, has remained in force until the present day, except as repealed or modified by legislative enactment. The act creating Illinois Territory provided that all suits pending in any of the courts in Illinois, and certain suits pending before the general court at Vincennes, should proceed to final judgment or decree, the same as though said territory had not been divided.[1] I have not been able to find any specific reference to the judicial labors of these judges.

In the year 1814 the territorial legislature had under consideration an act for the creation of a Supreme Court for the territory, doubtless on somewhat the same model as that of our present Supreme Court. The territorial judges were greatly opposed to this act, insisting to the legislature that it had no power to create such a court. Their argument was that the Federal court, of which they were the judges, was created by the Supreme authority of the United States Congress, and that the territorial legislature, which possessed only subordinate and derivative authority, had no power to pass such an act, because it would, in effect, nullify a law of Congress, and legislate the Federal court out of existence. The argument seemed so conclusive, that the legislature took no action at the time except to refer the matter to Congress, together with Governor Edwards' argument in answer to the judges.

In 1815 Congress enacted further legislation in relation to the United States judiciary in Illinois.[2] This act divided the Illinois Territory into three separate circuits. At this time there were six counties in the territory. Madison and St. Clair counties constituted the first circuit; Randolph and Johnson the second; and Gallatin and Edwards the third.

Governor Palmer says that the annals of Illinois Territory furnish no account of Obadiah Jones, appointed by the President one of these judges, March 7, 1809. It is doubtful whether he accepted the place or performed any of its duties. I infer that Judge Sprigg must have been appointed his successor early in 1809.

Judge Stuart remained on the Illinios bench but a short time, when he was appointed to a judicial position in Missouri; but it now appears from the recently discovered records, that he signed all the laws adopted by the governor and judges, between July, 1809, and March, 1810. On March 6, 1810, he was succeeded in office by Stanley Griswold, of whom Governor Reynolds says:

1 Hurd *Revised Statutes of Illinois*, 1903, p. 25.
2 Palmer *Bench and Bar of Illinois*, Vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

"He was a correct, honest man—a good lawyer—paid his debts and sung David's psalms."

Jesse B. Thomas, one of the first Illinois Territorial Judges, was very much more of a character than his associates. He was born in Maryland and was reputed to be a lineal descendant of Lord Baltimore. He was an able, energetic and ambitious man. He was, however, throughout life, much more of a politican than a lawyer or judge. His political methods would do credit to the most astute politicians of the present day. This is illustrated by one incident in his career. At the time of the separation of Illinois from Indiana was being mooted, Indiana was exceedingly opposed to the division, while the Illinois portion of the territory greatly favored it. Thomas was a member of the Territorial Assembly of Indiana and Speaker of the House. He was exceedingly anxious to go to Congress. In consideration that the Illinois members would work for his election, he made profuse promises and finally gave a written bond that he would procure a division of the territory. So hateful was his conduct to his own Indiana constituents, that he was hung in effigy in Vincennes. He was, however, elected by a majority of one (including his own vote). He discharged the condition of his bond, as well as redeemed his promises, and procured the passage of an act of Congress for the division of the territory. He returned with a commission as one of the judges for Illinois Territory, and took up his residence in Kaskaskia. He afterward lived in Cahokia and later in Edwardsville. He was one of the first two United States Senators from the State of Illinois, and was the author of the famous legislation known as the Missouri Compromise. He was also chairman of the convention that adopted the Illinois Constitution of 1818.

## STATEHOOD PERIOD.

The next distinct period in the history of the courts of Illinois begins with its statehood. On April 15, 1818, Congress passed an act "to enable the people of Illinois Territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such states into the Union on an equal footing with the original states." This act, among other things, provided for the election of thirty-three delegates to a convention to be held at Kaskaskia on the first Monday of the succeeding August. All white male persons who were over the age of twenty-one years, and who had resided in the territory six months prior to the day of election, were to be privileged to vote. There were at that time fifteen counties in the territory. Two delegates were apportioned to each of the counties of Bond, Monroe, Randolph, Jackson, Johnson, Pope, White, Edwards, Crawford, Union, Washington and Franklin, while the counties of Madison, St. Clair and Gallatin had three representatives each.

This convention accordingly met and on the 26th day of August passed an ordinance accepting the terms of admission imposed by the act of Congress. This convention proceeded promptly with the

labor of forming a constitution for the new state, and on the 26th day of the same month in which it met finished the task and adopted the first constitution for the government of the new state.

By this instrument radical changes were made in the courts. It provided that the judicial powers should be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the General Assembly should establish. The Supreme Court was to consist of a chief justice and three associate justices. These were to be elected by joint ballot of the two houses of the General Assembly, and were to hold office during good behavior, until the end of the session of the General Assembly to be held in 1824. Until this time they were to hold the circuit courts in the several counties; after 1824 the judges of the Supreme Court were to hold office during good behavior—which, in practical effect, meant for life—but were not further to hold circuit court. In the interest of strict economy and the protection of the people against the possible reckless extravagance of an incompetent or dishonest General Assembly, their salaries were fixed at the sum of $1,000 per annum, payable quarterly. The constitution, however, did not hold out a word of hope, for it provided that after 1824 these judges should have a "competent and adequate salary"—to be fixed by the General Assembly.

The whole subject of the establishment of circuit courts and other inferior courts was left by the constitution to the General Assembly. The first session of the General Assembly of Illinois began October 5, 1818, only five or six weeks after the adjournment of the constitutional convention. It was held at Kaskaskia, which was still the seat of government, and was probably still the largest town in the territory. Upon joint ballot of the two houses, Joseph Phillips was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on the first ballot. John Reynolds, William P. Foster and Thomas C. Browne were elected Associate Justices.

All of the early historians of Illinois who have written concerning these men agree that the selection of Judge Phillips was an excellent one. He was a lawyer of superior attainments and a man of marked intellectual ability. From the history of nearly all of the judges of this period, it is painfully evident that the excellent doctrine now, happily, largely prevalent in the state and especially in Cook county —that judges should keep out of politics—did not then prevail, for on July 4, 1822, less than four years after his appointment, Judge Phillips resigned as Chief Justice by reason of his being a candidate for governor. Judge Scott says, writing on this subject:

"Office seeking seems to have been a mania of that period, and became a mad passion with all professional men—lawyers, doctors and even ministers became attracted with the maelstrom of politics."

The historian might well have added that the judges were no less guilty than the others named.

On the 31st day of August 1822, Judge Phillips was succeeded by Thomas Reynolds, who appears to have been one of the masterful spirits of his time in this new west. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and at the time of his elevation to the highest judicial position in

Illinois was only twenty-six years old. And, although so young, he had already filled the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly. He failed of reappointment in 1825 and soon after removed to Missouri. In 1840 he became governor of that state, and, except for his untimely death, would almost certainly have been a member of the United States Senate.

The Associate Justices Browne, Foster and John Reynolds, were men of widely different types and personalities. Foster appears to have been purely a political adventurer. Of polished manners, insinuating address, unscrupulous character but unbounded assurance, he came a stranger to Illinois, and in the course of a few weeks, so worked himself into favor with the members of the General Assembly that he captured one of the highest judicial offices in the state, a place for which he was totally unfit, either by training or character. He had never studied law and had been a citizen of the state only about three weeks when he was elected.[1] The only judicial service he ever rendered to Illinois was to remain off the bench—and to draw his salary for a year. He never took his seat as a member of the court, and at the end of a year he resigned and left the country. His subsequent life appears to have been that of a migratory swindler.

Judge Brown is reputed to have been a man of strict integrity and of decided personal worth. He was not regarded as a lawyer either of great attainments or of much ability. As to the value of his judicial services, there seems to have been a great difference of opinion. He was just and impartial in the administration of the laws; at the same time, he was sometimes considered incompetent. An unsuccessful attempt to remove him from office, for want of capacity to discharge its duties, was made in 1843. He succeeded in being re-elected in 1825 and held the office until the Constitution of 1848 went into effect. Governor Palmer says of him that:

> "He delivered no opinion upon any important subject and did no act worthy of being remembered. Though a member of the council of revision, he did nothing for the reform of the law or the improvement of the statutes." [2]

John Reynolds, the third member of the first Supreme bench, was familiarly known to those of his times as the "Old Ranger." He came to Illinois in 1800, and in 1812, at the age of twenty-four, was admitted to practice by the judges of the Territorial Court. He was a persistent office seeker and was well up in the arts of the politicians of his time. He failed of re-election in 1825. He, however, engaged ardently in politics and in 1830 was made governor of the state.

The General Assembly in 1825 elected William Wilson, Chief Justice, and Samuel D. Lockwood and Theophilus W. Smith, and re-elected Thomas C. Browne, Associate Justices.

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1 Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 2)

2 *1 Bench and Bar of Illinois*, p. 15.

It is with feelings of relief that we turn aside from the dismal stories of unworthy political ambitions and disgraceful political intrigues on the part of too many judges of the time, to contemplate for a moment the pure, disinterested and altogether admirable character of the new Chief Justice Wilson. A self-made man who had come up through struggle and adversity, a man of purest character, of highest ideals, of real professional instinct, a lawyer and a judge and that only, as ignorant and innocent of political arts as a child, he came to his high office January 19, 1825, and for a period of some thirty years he discharged the duties of Justice of the Supreme Court with singular conscientiousness, fidelity and ability.

Associate Justice Lockwood was another man who was, in many ways, a worthy associate of Chief Justice Wilson. A lawyer by learning and by instinct, of great mental strength, of restless, untiring energy, he did more than any or all the other judges and lawyers of his time to bring into an intelligent and connected system the jumble of laws that had prevailed in Illinois through the territorial period. It is said that he is chiefly responsible for our Criminal Code, drafted by him while a member of the Council of Revision of our laws. Although the provisions for punishment by whipping, pillory, stocks and other similar methods have been eliminated from the code as it left his hands, the definitions of crimes as therein contained are so felicitous and accurate, that but few changes have ever been made.

If of Judge Smith, the other member of the court as constituted in 1825, we were not required to speak, it would be a relief. He belonged to the other type, so prevalent in his time. One of the writers of this period, who knew him well personally, says he was an "active, bustling, ambitious, turbulent" politician. "He never lacked a plot to advance himself or to blow up others." [1] An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1833 to remove him from office, one of the charges being his arbitrary suspension from practice of an attorney who had taken a change of venue from his court, another being his imprisonment for contempt of a Quaker who, through conscientious scruples, had declined to remove his hat while in court. Judge Smith resigned his seat in 1842 and died in 1846.

This completes our survey of the courts of Illinois down to the year 1825, the limit set for the scope of this paper. No judges of the Circuit Court had been elected prior to that time, and hence nothing will be said here in regard to those courts, or can be here said of the judges who presided over them.

By the year 1825 the population of the new state had very greatly increased. Immigrants came in great numbers and scattered themselves all over the rich prairies of Illinois. These floods of immigration poured in from the south, mostly from Kentucky, the Carolinas and Tennessee. The immigrants were a hardy, intrepid, self-reliant, utterly fearless race of people, sometimes turbulent, plain in dress and manners, not well educated, but possessing elements of great strength and a real respect for law and order. Some very graphic

1 Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 220.

pictures have been left to us of what might have been seen in a session of one of the circuit courts of that time. I have before me such a description of the first term of the Circuit Court held in Montgomery county, the county in which the writer spent his boyhood days. Judge Reynolds, afterward the governor of the state, presided. The clerk of the court made his home with one of the farmers in the vicinity of the present city of Hillsboro, in a house consisting of two rooms. In one of these rooms the first court was held. The judge sat upon the side of the bed and impannelled the first grand jury, which, being duly sworn in, retired to the adjacent woods, where the jurors sat upon a log and made their investigation of the lawlessness of the county. After mature deliberation they presented to the court that they had no indictments to return, and they were discharged from further labors, "with the thanks of the court for the efficient and fearless manner in which they had discharged their duties." There were three cases on the docket at that term of court.

It has recently been stated in one of the great magazines of the country that the first courthouse in the city of Springfield was built of logs, consisted of two rooms, and cost the sum of $62.75. The same style of architecture prevailed in the erection of courthouses throughout all this great new republic. The appearance of the judges, and the manners of the jury, were what would at this time be considered very uncouth, but it should not be supposed that there was not among these people a deep-seated reverence for the law, and for the method of its administration by the courts created by the independent liberty-loving citizenship of the state.

## 3. NEGRO SERVITUDE IN ILLINOIS.

(By Newton D. Harris.)

In 1744 a young French officer at New Orleans wrote to a friend in Paris: "The country of Illinois is full of mountains, from which they get stones for building houses. There are iron and lead mines among the Illinois. They make salt in earthen kettles, and get water for it out of the neighboring lakes which are salt."

This statement sounds as astounding and preposterous to us now, as the person who, writing to the "Alton Observer" under date of August 17, 1837, said: "There are among us, chiefly between Alton and Chester, several hundred slaves, held in perpetual and absolute servitude in the same manner, so far as I know, that they are held in the south."

Yet there are large elements of truth in both communications. The first refers clearly to those two early industries of the state—the mines near Galena and the salt works near Shawneetown—which more than anything else gave cause at first for the bringing of the negroes into Illinois. The second describes with a fair amount of accuracy the system of "indentured servants," then so largely practiced in the state in spite of the ordinance of 1787, and what was supposed to be the law of the land

In 1719 when Philip Renault came from France to promote the mining industry in the Illinois country, he brought with him 500 negroes purchased at San Domingo. During the next two years 1,500 more were landed in Mobile bay; and, although the upper Mississippi district did not profit by the slave trade (pursued with so much industry by the Dutch, the English, and even by the American colonists themselves) as the southern colonies, the number of negroes in the Illinois country steadily increased until there were over 900. This was in 1763.

After the English assumed control in the west, the negro population decreased considerably owing to the removal of many French families. Another decrease occurred immediatly following the passage of the ordinance of 1787, but by 1800 the introduction of negroes was resumed and steadily practiced until the United States census showed in 1820 that the number had reached 749.

The French slaves were a happy and contented people. Their masters were kind and lenient. Along with the white children the colored servants were taught the catechism; and no labor was required of them on Sundays, or on the many holidays of the church.

They were not allowed to marry, to hold property, or to meet in public gatherings without the master's consent; but the torturing of slaves was forbidden; and, if abused, the owners might be prosecuted through the procureur-general of the territory. The negro servants were owned and sold like the other species of property, but it was not the practice to separate parents from one another or from their children.

When Virginia ceded her claims on the Northwest territory to the federal government she stipulated that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the neighboring towns should continue to enjoy all their ancient rights and privileges. The ordinance of 1787, however, with its anti-slavery clause frightened them. They were commencing to move out of the territory when Governor St. Clair persuaded most of them to remain by the assurance that the ordinance did not apply to negroes then in servitude, but was intended to prevent the further introduction of slaves into the territory. He wrote to Washington that he hoped he had not misunderstood the intention of Congress.

The interpretation of Mr. St. Clair was generally accepted as correct; and the first territorial legislature proceeded to legalize what was later known as the "Indenture System." All negroes under 15 years of age were to serve till the age of 35 (women 32). Children born of slaves then in the territory were required to serve 30 years (28 for women). Every colored person brought into the territory must be registered with the county clerk within thirty days, and must serve out the full term. Transfers of slaves were permitted and masters were allowed to leave the territory with their property. Finally a slave code, similar to those of Virginia and Kentucky, was adopted.

This "system," if we may call it such, was confirmed and perpetuated by the Illinois Constitution of 1818 and the statutes of the Legislature of 1819 which, although reducing nominally all periods of service to one year, provided that all contracts made prior to 1818 were valid and should be enforced. The age limit for service was lowered to 21 and 18 years respectively. In addition, it was made unlawful to bring in negroes for the purpose of freeing them. Negroes without freedom papers were forbidden to enter the state.

The right to hold the indentured servants was generally believed in and defended by the leading lawyers of the time. Ninian Edwards made a legal defense of it and declared that indentures were reasonable, "beneficial to the slaves, and not repugnant to the public interests." The common or popular attitude on the matter is best shown in a speech of John Grammer of Union county, uttered a few years later in the State Senate: "I will show that the proposition is unconstitutional, illegal and fornist the compact. Don't everyone know, or leastwise ought to know, that congress that sat at Vincennes guaranteed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers. And hain't I got as much right as any Frenchmen in this state, answer me that, sir?"

It is well known how an attempt was made in 1823 to extend and perpetuate the practice of holding indentured servants, or as it has been commonly expressed—to make Illinois a slave state, by calling a convention to amend the constitution. It is not necessary to dis-

cuss that contest here, otherwise than to remind you that after a most exciting campaign the citizens decided against the convention by a majority of only 1,668 votes.

Several of the registration books kept by the county clerks of those days have been preserved for us. From these, from bills of sale, from wills, and other documentary evidence, we are able to obtain a fairly accurate idea of how the practice of holding negro servants was really managed in Illinois.

Nearly every one lived up to the law sufficiently to register their negroes. I counted 324 enrolled upon the books of Gallatin, St. Clair, Madison and Randolph counties alone. Little effort seems to have been made to conform further to the laws. Indentured negroes were registered for periods of service ranging all the way from 18 to 99 years. The age limit for service of "21 years" appears in curious ways. Infants are brought in and registered to serve 21 years. Some servants were put down to 21 years' service, no matter what their age happened to be. Others—children of slaves—were assigned 35 years on the ground that they were not born in the state.

The consent of the negro was legally necessary to an indenture, but this was easy to obtain by commuting, or pretending to commute, the period of service. If any slave refused to serve, his master could remove him from the state. There was no limit on the number of servants a man might possess and the number in servitude reached 746 in 1830.

Sales and transfers of negroes were common. Advertisements like the following were to be read in the newspapers of the day: "Sale of personal property, including two negro boys, of plantation utensils, furniture, horses, cattle, and several valuable servants of both sexes"; and "For sale—a likely negro woman about 30 years of age, warranted perfectly healthy and an excellent house servant."

Slaves were handed down from father to son by will, and used as collateral or security upon notes or for money loaned. In case their owner had little need of their labor, they were rented out by the month or year for fixed sums.

The colored servants themselves enjoyed few privileges and only certain negative rights, such as to be free when their term of service was ended, to be well treated, to serve under nominally one year contracts, and not to be transferred without their own consent.

They were not allowed to vote, to hold property, to sue for freedom or to act as witnesses in the courts, or to serve in the state militia. Their children were not admitted in the public schools. And all the doors to material advancement and social improvement were closed, not only to them, but also to all the free colored people in the state. In fact, no free negroes were allowed to cross the borders of Illinois unless they carried freedom papers and gave a thousand dollar bond that they would never become a county charge. There is no evidence that the last clause was generally enforced. Probably not. Still at best they were but grudgingly admitted.

Between the years 1820-26 a goodly number of notices of runaway servants appeared in the newspapers. Rewards ranging from $25 to

$50 were offered for their capture and return; but, judging from the number of times that the same notices appeared, not many were retaken.

After 1826 such notices ceased to appear and with good reason. There remained almost no incentive to run away. With his master the indentured negro found steady employment, food, lodging and protection. As a free man, few were interested in his welfare, only a limited line of work lay open to him, and he ran every chance of being kidnaped and sold into slavery in the southern states.

Kidnaping began very early in the history of the state; and, although the legislature commenced as early as 1816 to take measures against it, the practice gradually assumed extensive proportions. The laws concerning the free blacks and the fugitive slaves furnished effective weapons to the kidnapers in their search for victims.

There were two chief centers through which most of the business was carried on. One was near Shawneetown on the Ohio, and the other near Illinoistown, now East St. Louis. From these centers the negroes were smuggled on the river steamers and carried down the Mississippi to be sold by agents in the South. The profits were large, for one was sure to get at least $100 for an able-bodied slave.

To evade the laws against kidnaping, a very neat little scheme was resorted to. The negroes were conducted from county to county by different relays of men and delivered at the border to non-residents of the state, who saw to their disposition in the South. In this way no *citizen* of Illinois was directly concerned in taking them *out* of the state.

In the northern part and in various sections in the central and southern parts of the state public sentiment was with the colored people in this matter. The growing opposition to the enforcement of the congressional laws on fugitive slaves increased the desire to aid them. The abolitionists embraced every opportunity to help escaping negroes northward to freedom.

In this way the so-called "Underground Railway" was inaugurated which gave a little more system to the efforts in behalf of hapless negroes sought by Southern slave owners or by the kidnapers. This series of refuges—if we may call them such—consisted of a scattering line of places where colored people were sure to be fed and protected for limited periods. No direct connection was maintained between the stations, but the negroes were sent forward from one with direction—more or less specific—how to reach the neighborhood of the next.

There were three main "lines" through the state. One starting near Chester, ran close to Eden, Coulterville and Nashville, and north to the Illinois river. Another ran via Alton, Jacksonville, the Illinois river, LaSalle and Ottawa to Chicago. A third, beginning near Quincy, proceeded by way of Mendon, Galesburg and Princeton to LaSalle. The objective of all lines was, of course, Chicago, and ultimately Canada.

It is not supposed that the "conductors" of these lines were able to carry on their work without molestation. They were sturdy, courageous men living up to their convictions with determination. They were criticised, persecuted and performed their duties often at an imminent risk to life and property.

The arrest and trial of Owen Lovejoy, Richard Eells and Julius Willard for harboring runaways, are well known instances of what the friends of the negroes had to undergo in those days. Such trials as these, the continuous appeals to the legislature for a repeal of the "black laws," and the attempt to keep up an anti-slavery discussion, only served to keep the slavery question before the people.

It brought no relief to the indentured servants; but it stirred up the pro-slavery men and rendered the opponents of slavery agitation very bitter and aggressive.

In reality there was but one way in which the system of indentures could be abolished. This was through the courts. Some of the lawyers began quite early to tell the negroes that they were free and to defend their rights in the courts when possible, even without pay. The most prominent of these were Nathaniel Niles of Belleville, W. T. M. Davis of Alton, Gustave Koerner of Belleville and Lyman Trumbull.

But the courts were very slow in rendering decisions which would effect the condition of the negroes. It was not until 1836 that the first move was made by declaring in the case of Boon vs. Juliet that the children of indentured servants were not to be held in bondage. Other decisions followed at intervals, acting for the most part against the validity of the system, until the celebrated case of Jarrott vs. Jarrott in 1845. Here it was affirmed that slaves might sue for services in the courts, and that the slaves of French settlers, or the descendants of such slaves, could not be held in bondage. This was generally accepted as putting an end to the system of negro indentures in Illinois; and many people, like the Wests of Belleville, freed their slaves at once.

It was surprising, however, to note how slow individuals were to obey the decisions of the Supreme Court. They seem to have done so reluctantly, and often then because the negroes had served out their time or given service equivalent to their purchase money. I have seen many freedom papers dating between 1846 and 1856, and some dating between 1856 and 1863.

The question of indentures was somewhat complicated by reason of the laws concerning the free negroes. Besides the regulations mentioned above, they were denied the right of suffrage by a large vote in 1848, and the legislature ordered to take steps to prohibit their coming into the state. In 1853, under the leadership of Mr. John A. Logan, a law was passed making it a crime punishable by a fine of $1,000 to $1,500 to bring a free colored person into Illinois. All negroes found without freedom papers were to be arrested and sold out by the month or year to pay their fines, in case no owner claimed them. Some were sold into service again in this way; but the Supreme Court soon declared this illegal.

It is astonishing, however, to note the attitude of hostility which continued to be manifested toward the negro. In 1862 the people of Illinois approved an amendment to the proposed constitution prohibiting the immigration of colored people into the state, by a majority of over 100,000 votes; and, by the enormous majority of 176,000, expressed their opposition to his holding office or voting. The fact that a Republican state legislature repealed the old "black laws" of Illinois and approved the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States does not prove that the opinion of the majority of the people as to negro citizenship had materially changed.

In 1860 there were about 7,600 colored persons in Illinois. At present there are about 100,000. In the decade from 1890 to 1900 the negro population almost doubled. They are coming to us in large numbers, doubtless because there is more opportunity to get ahead here than in the Southern states.

What have we done for them? What are we doing to aid them? Almost nothing, I fear. We have accepted their money for educational purposes, and have admitted them grudgingly into our schools. In fact, it was necessary for the legislature to pass in 1874 a special act protecting them before they could get the full advantages of the schools with any degree of safety and comfort. And today, wherever they are congregating in large numbers—even in Chicago—their children are being shoved off into schools by themselves. In the majority of the professions and walks of life they are not wanted. The trades-unions do not like them because they have been used as strike breakers. Nowhere are the colored people particularly welcome or made to feel at home.

The fact of the matter is—if it were carefully analyzed—that Illinois has come face to face with the same problem as exists in the Southern states. In reality the so-called "negro question" is no longer a Southern problem. The south cannot solve the problem alone. It will only be satisfactorily adjusted when the people of the United States shall recognize that there *is* a negro question and that the responsibility of solving it rests upon them alone.

The Southern states, both before and since the war, have done much to aid and educate the colored people. They have profited considerably in the same direction through the schools and efforts of Northern men. Yet it is generally admitted by all students of the question, that, as a race, they have not risen far above the barbaric state in which they were brought from Africa.

That he is capable of progress and development is shown by the example of Junius Groves, the "Potato King" of Kansas, the Penny Savings Bank of Birmingham, Ala., and the number of successful men and women trained under Booker T. Washington.

That they are not hopelessly weak on the moral side is demonstrated by the fact that there are thousands of law-abiding citizens among them, and that the records of the Chicago police courts show that the ratio of licentious living among the blacks is only 3 per cent, while it is 30 per cent among the whites.

The question accordingly narrows down to two or three important principles.

First, the negro must be given an equal chance with everyone to earn an honest living and to make his way upward in life. As Bishop Strange of North Carolina puts it, he is entitled to "liberty, equal industrial opportunity, equal rights before the law, equal political privileges—a suffrage based on character and intelligence for blacks and whites alike. The same public advantages of education."

Second, this is not all. Not only must the door of the future be opened to the colored man, but he must be aided and encouraged to enter in and help himself. In many ways he is still a child; and the stronger, more clever and self-reliant Anglo-Saxon must help the weaker brother to rise.

I do not mean that the government of the southern states should be turned over to them, or that they are everywhere to be received on a social equality, or even that we are to make professional or learned men or statesmen of them all. But, simply, they should seriously and definitely be aided to become intelligent and industrious men, by giving them every inducement through assistance in purchasing land, in opening new industries and by rewarding his efforts when possible.

The salvation of the nation depends upon the purity and integrity of its citizens. And the United States cannot permanently endure with any large proportion of its citizens—degraded, disenfranchised or deprived of their just rights and opportunities.

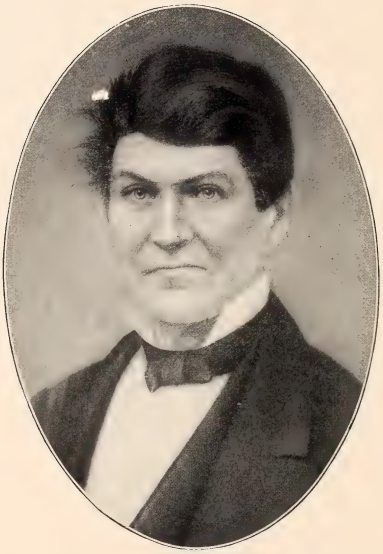
Professor Scarborough of the Wilberforce University, and others, in speaking for the welfare of the negro have urged that he go, and be aided to go, to the Philippines and to Africa where no color line exists, and where there is every chance for the black man to get ahead. This may alleviate the question and make it easier to handle; but it cannot solve the problem for us.

The negroes are here—they are here to stay—no matter how much we may grumble at those who brought them in the first place. To care for them and to make them a blessing and not a menace to our nation is our work, or duty.

We all applauded Mr. Roosevelt when he said: "I believe in the Southerner as I believe in the Northerner. I claim the right to feel pride in his great qualities and his great deeds exactly as I feel pride in the great qualities and deeds of every other American. For weal or for woe, we are knit together and we shall go up or down together; and I believe that we shall go up and not down, and that we shall go forward instead of halting and falling back, because I have an abiding faith in the generosity, the courage, the resolution and the common sense of all my countrymen."

Are we going to let our President lose faith in us, by shrinking these, our responsibilties? Shall we allow him to bear alone the burdens and duties of the American people? Or shall we, like men and honest citizens, rally about him and face with intelligence and determination this great and pressing national problem?

Is it not time that the doctrine of the brotherhood of man should become a realty in this country, instead of a sham and a lie? If we are to set an example to the civilized world for our intelligence, our integrity, and our Christianity, we must live up to the teachings of Christ. If republicanism is not to fall into derision and foolishness before all people, we must see to it that every man, whatever his color or condition, has a fair and equal chance in life, and that each person not only enjoys his liberty and his rights, but shall also do his duty faithfully and honestly as a true and loyal citizen of these United States.



PHILO BEERS,

First white man whose marriage occurred within present borders of Sangamon County.

# WEDDING OF THE FIRST WHITE COUPLE IN THE TERRITORY WHICH BECAME THE COUNTY OF SANGAMON.

(By Charles P. Kane.)

It might seem that upon a program so laudably ambitious as the one offered at the present meeting of your society, treating with serious dignity of momentous steps in the unfolding of our State life, small room should be given to tales of love and marriage, which the sedate affect to view with mild indulgence or harsh disdain. Yet a famous Illinois soldier, senator and man of affairs said of such narratives, they are the only true history. Any account of social or political movements which ignores the woman in the case is incomplete. The settlement and appropriation of the new world without her cooperation is unthinkable. The ranger of the wood, who chased or trapped forest game; the hunter, who, like the aboriginal savage, pursued wild herds over virgin prairies, left shallow footprints, soon to be effaced and forgotten. He was a mere intruder; he forsook a lordless region, as he found it, unsubdued. But the pale-face, who came with his wife, took the significant name of settler. He became the builder of habitations, the founder of homes, thereby masterfully establishing his right to possess the land. Not until some brave woman placed her hand within her husband's and they twain faced toward the west could history trumpet abroad that the procession for the conquest of the great wilderness had actually begun its march.

Much or little of this thought may have occurred to the two principal figures in our story, as each unconscious of the other, they set out adventurously, by separate ways, the one from Connecticut, the other from New York, for the distant western frontier, to meet at last and plight their vows as man and wife in the heart of far-away Illinois; and so to be the first bridal pair of the Caucasian race to wed within these borders which later outlined the county of Sangamon.

The year 1818 that witnessed the admission of our imperial State into the American union, witnessed also other incidents of less importance. It found, for example, Abigail Stillman, a widow, living with her thriving family at Canandaigua, N. Y. She and her husband, Benjamin Stillman, had met and married in Boston, Mass., but later moved to Ontario county, N. Y., settling in the village of East Bloom-

field. Here Stillman died and bequeathed to the worthy Abigail the care of four lusty sons and as many high-spirited daughters, one of the latter being a lass called Martha, with whom this narrative chiefly has to do.*

To the task of fitly rearing her orphaned progeny Mrs. Stillman addressed herself with Puritanical gravity. Imbued with the Yankee notion that good schooling is the prime birthright of every child, she took up her residence in Canadaigua, the county seat, the better to educate her children. The sons were instructed at the best available schools, one of them being qualified for the practice of medicine and surgery; the daughters had the advantages of ladies' seminaries at Junius and Aurora. Our Martha was given a finishing course at the latter institution.

And now the eight children have arrived at man's and woman's estate, a son and a daughter are married, six remain fairly equipped to encounter the real problems of life, but wanting opportunity. Through roving spirits from the west, rumors reached Canadaigua of a marvelously rich and beautiful tract, near the center of Illinois territory where broad prairies spread their green carpets under the wide sky and the most fertile of lands may be had for the asking.

It is therefore resolved that the family shall set out for the distant, but inviting valley, of the Sangamo. The home and the immovables are disposed of; wagons are provided, covered with canvass stretched upon high arching hoops, after the fashion of similar vehicles, which, in other times upon trans-Mississippi trails, received the name of prairie schooners. Into these wagons was loaded all portable property; lastly the precious human freight was stowed away in their capacious holds and the long weary journey was begun.

The summer of 1819 finds our wayfarers loitering at Morganfield, Union county, Ky., from whose borders they can look across the Ohio into Illinois. They have been advised to tarry and raise a crop of vegetables and corn for their first year's consumption at their destined home in the wilderness. This they are assured may be done with much greater ease upon the cultivated lands of Kentucky than upon the raw sod of the Sangamon prairies. The following spring they pushed on over the Ohio, up from Shawneetown to the Sangamon river. Crossing this stream, they decided to rest near the edge of a fine natural grove, upon a tract designated by government survey as section 8, town 17 north, range 4 west of the third principal meridian, now in Williams township, Sangamon county.

Here a roomy log cabin was constructed as speedily as might be; what furniture had been conveyed from New York was disposed about the rude mansion with such taste and skill as graduates from the seminaries at Junius and Aurora, under the circumstances, might display, and things were made as comfortable as possible, but the result was so pitifully disappointing, that mother Stillman sat upon the side

* The facts, relating to the history of Philo and Martha Beers, recited by this paper and not of record, were communicated to the writer mainly by their daughter Caroline Beers Kane, now living.

See also "History Early Settlers of Sangamon County," by John Carroll Power, 1876, under the names Stillman, Stewart and Beers.

of her bed, hid her face in her hands and allowed her tears to fall unrestrained. Her children began to realize in much dismay the sacrifice she had made for them in undertaking the life of a pioneer of near a century ago.

During the sojourn of the Stillmans at Morganfield several young gentlemen of their party attended the secret communications of the Freemasons' lodge. At one of these Dr. Stillman met a brother of the mystic tie by the name of Philo Beers.

Young Beers was a native of Woodbury, Conn., a son of Zechariah Beers, who enlisted four times in the Connecticut militia during the Revolution, the first time at sixteen years of age. Subsequently he acquired local celebrity as a poet; specimens of his verses are preserved in Cothren's History of Ancient Woodbury.* Zechariah was blessed with a large family. Philo, the sixth child, upon attaining the stature of manhood, resolved to see some of the world for himself. After a varied experience, including a brief service in the American militia in the war of 1812, he went west. At the date of this narrative he had been prospecting in western Kentucky, southern Illinois and parts of Missouri. He had contracted for the purchase of a large tract of land in the vicinity of St. Louis, which place he described by letter to a friend in the east as "nearly as large as Poughkeepsie," and shrewdly prophesied that within a short time it would be "a place of great consequence." In this letter, dated April 10, 1819, the writer enlarges upon the advantages offered by the territories, and urges his friends not to be daunted by the seemingly impassable distance, assuring them that when Pittsburg is once reached "one may say his journey is in a manner over."

Dr. Stillman was so pleased with his new friend that he invited the stranger to his abode, proposing an introduction to his mother and sisters. The proposal was promptly accepted, and Mr. Beers often was heard to say that from the moment his eye fell upon Martha Stillman at Morganfield he determined to win her for his wife.

Doubtless our prospective groom pressed his suit with becoming diligence, for within eight months after the Stillmans had located north of the Sangamon he presented himself at their homestead with parson and license, and found an expectant bride all ready for the nuptial ceremony.

Mr. Beers was now a resident of Carlyle, Ill.† The Sangamo country had not yet been severed from Madison county, and it became necessary to apply at Edwardsville, the old county seat, for the marriage license. A minister for the occasion was discovered in the person of the Rev. Stephen England, who resided near the present site of the village of Cantrall.‡ Mr. England had proven the hardness

* "History of Ancient Woodbury," by William Cothren. 1854. Vol. 1. pp. 286, 359, 515.

† The earliest settlers called this region "Sangamo country," as more nearly representing the sound of the original Indian name. In a like endeavor the French spelled the name Sainque-mon." See old French maps.

Judge Jas. H. Matheny, son of Chas. R. Matheny, first clerk of Sangamon county, from hearing the Indians themselves, told the writer, the correct Indian pronunciation was Sangam-ugh, the first syllable accented and prolonged, the last being the Indian gutteral ugh!

See also title "Sangamo Journal," published at Springfield. 1831-3.

‡ "Philo Beers and Martha Stillman obtained license to marry Oct. 27, 1820. License bears number 279. The marriage was solemnized by Rev. Stephen England, Nov. 2, 1820. This is all my books show." From certificate by clerk of Madison county in possession of Caroline Beers Kane, dated April 29, 1874, and signed "B. E. Hoffmann, Clerk."

of frontier life, and at his setting out to render the service entreated of him was shod with a pair of Indian moccasins, evidently much the worse for wear and tear. Passing his brother-in-law, Evans Brittain, plowing in the field, he prevailed upon his complacent relative to exchange a pair of leather shoes for the moccasins till his return, and so the minister went happily on to the wedding. At the conclusion of the ceremony the proud groom swept a gold eagle from his pocket and offered it to Mr. England as a marriage fee. The good man was amazed and insisted that though he did not object to reasonable compensation for such a service, his conscience would not permit him to accept so large a sum. After much persuasion he consented to take half the amount tendered and declared he was more than satisfied.

The parlor in which the ceremony was performed (if a room in a log cabin may be so designated) should receive a word of special notice. Over the puncheon floor, spread with a soft matting of straw, had been neatly laid an ingrain carpet, a bright pattern of interwoven red and green. On one side of the room stood a small piano of primitive design and construction, which, upon the exodus from Canadaigua, had been bereft of its legs for convenience of transportation. The deficiency was supplied by brother Stephen, who cut a sapling of suitable size into proper lengths, peeled off the bark and stained the glistening wood to resemble the body of the instrument, and our piano stood once more upon a proper footing. On another side of the room a tall, narrow mirror, framed in gilt and reaching from the floor nigh to the ceiling, gaily bedecked the clay-daubed wall and blithely reflected the smiling faces of the merry company. In the middle of the apartment was placed a center table of oak having a curious foot, deftly carved in imitation of a huge pineapple. These, with other less conspicuous articles of furniture, were reminders of the eastern home abandoned the year before.

The bride, as all brides are, was altogether interesting. A petite young lady of twenty summers, who weighed but a hundred pounds, and could stand erect under her husband's outstretched arm. Her shapely head was adorned with a heavy suit of dark brown hair that fell when loosened in luxuriant tresses below her waist. Eyes clear gray, complexion fair and features indicating sane mental poise and strength of character.

The gowns of the bride's trousseau were limited to two. The wedding dress, we are told by a daughter of Mrs. Beers, was of fine white jaconet, cut low in the neck, with puffed sleeves of but a finger's length, trimmed with a dainty ruffle; waist no longer than the sleeves, gathered into a belt, from which a gored skirt fell to the floor, terminating in a generous flounce of the same material as the whole garment. The other gown, intended to be what was then called a "second day dress," was made of lilac silk, fashioned as a traveling suit and ornamented with two rows of silk covered buttons running down the front and extending over the shoulders. The materials were brought from the east along with the piano and center table. The dresses were cut fashioned and finished by the nimble fingers and deft need-

les of sisters Mary and Caroline, wisely and efficiently aided doubtless by good mother Stillman. The wedding dress was long preserved and years afterwards was presented by Mrs. Beers to her daughter, Mrs. Caroline M. Kane.

The groom, of course, is of minor consequence at his own nuptials. He usually suffers a partial, if not a total eclipse though the occasion to him is most momentous. Suffice it to say of him then, he was a proper sort of young man, his companion's senior by seven years. He was naturally intelligent, kindly disposed and imbued with another Yankee notion that the way to get on in the world is by management. He stood six feet in his stockings, and was well able to take care of himself, and his wife, too, in the battle of life.

The feast spread for the delectation of the guests had both its sumptuous features and of necessity its shortcomings. The hosts were almost wholly dependent for the viands they offered upon the bounty of nature. Of such there was a generous supply. But having arrived on the ground only a few months prior to the events we describe, there was neither time nor opportunity, in this new, wild region, to provide by purchase or cultivation the delicacies usually employed to tempt the palate at wedding breakfasts under more recent and more favorable conditions. Of delicious meats there was a superabundance, venison, turkey, prairie chicken, quail, squirrel and fish, and in the woods could be found wild honey, fruits and nuts. But a serious predicament arose from a scarcity of wheat flour, and and what to do for white bread, cakes and pastries was the perplexing question confronting the ladies responsible for the entertainment. The few scattered settlers, who had found lodgement in the vicinity relied altogether upon ground maize for bread; the nearest mill and flour market was at Edwardsville, eighty or ninety miles distant.

Mr. James Stewart, who had married in New York, Roxana, the eldest daughter of the Stillman family, and who had preceded them to Illinois and located near by, brought with him from Shawneetown two barrels of flour, one of which was so damaged in transit as to be unfit for use, and the other was almost consumed. What was left, not enough to be sure, but what was left Mr. Stewart donated for the good of the cause. Two loaf cakes of moderate dimensions were made by the ladies and beautifully coated with white sugar icing. These were thought not imposing enough adequately to grace and adorn the banquet board, and for this purpose a resort was had to the following expedient: A large loaf of cornbread was baked in the shape of an immense cake and this in turn skillfully coated with an icing of dazzling whiteness. Grandly it appeared to perform its important function in the center of the board. The ladies craftily conspired to invent some excuse for not cutting this exquisite work of art, and to remain silent regarding the secret of its construction, but the insistent guests demanded a slice and would not be denied. Then its secret came out and the laugh went around, in which entertainers and entertained heartily joined. "And they all did eat and were filled," is the well authenticated tradition handed down to the lineal descendants of the said Philo and Martha Beers.

As for the guests, it is said all the neighbors were asked to the wedding, which probably meant those residing not more than ten or twelve miles away, as few residents were to be found within this distance. The names of such as attended have not been preserved. It is also vaguely related that two or three aboriginal red men were present by special invitation, but were so amused and delighted at beholding their noble forms in the tall mirror on the parlor side, that they gave little heed to less absorbing incidents of the occasion. It is worth our while withal as historians of this interesting event in the early story of Sangamon county, to glance briefly at the members of the family who sat at the bridal feast, and only to hint at some of their claims to recollection.

Of Mother Abigail Stillman mention has already been made. Of the brothers, three were present. Joseph Bennett Stillman, soon to be commissioned surgeon in the United States navy. He made a cruise with his vessel in the Mediterranean and died upon the return voyage of yellow fever at Key West.

Stephen, the artisan of the new piano legs, gave the name of Fancy Grove and Fancy Creek to those natural features of north Sangamon, names which they still bear. He became postmaster in his settlement, the first in the county north of the river. He also presided as master in the first Masonic lodge opened in the county. He sat upon the grand jury which indicted Nathaniel Vannoy for homicide. Vannoy was executed November 20th, 1826, the earliest instance of capital punishment in the county.*

Henry Stillman a few years later received appointment as government Indian agent at Fort Clark, afterward called Peoria. He engaged in wholesale merchandising and owned and captained the largest steamboat of his day plying between Peoria and New Orleans, in which occupation he acquired a competence.

A fourth brother, Isaiah, had married a wife in New York and could not come to the wedding, but the laggard joined the family a year or two later. He aided in organizing the First Presbyterian church of Springfield, and bore a major's† commission in the Black Hawk war.

Of the sisters, Roxana, married to James Stewart, was present with her husband. One of her sons, Captain William Stewart, for a time directed the movements of the gunboats Carondelet and Mound City in naval operations on the Mississippi during the civil war. In one of them he ran the batteries at Island No. 10, under command of Commodore Foote. A grandson was a colonel in the field in the same conflict, and another endured eleven months of unhappy existence in the Confederate prison at Andersonville, Ga.

Caroline, the youngest sister, became the wife of Colonel Peter Menard, son of Pierre Menard, first lieutenant governor of Illinois, whose statute in bronze stands upon the green in front of our State capitol.

Mary, a fourth sister, died unmarried.

* Stephen Stillman was one of three Justices of the Peace appointed upon the organization of Sangamon county. See "Power's Early Settlers," *ante* pp. 22 and 40 See also Records County Commissioners, April, 1821. Stephen Stillman was also State Senator from Sangamon in the General Assembly meeting at Vandalia in 1824. See Senate Journal, 1824, p. 3

† Moses, "History of Illinois," vol. I, p. 315, miscalled by Moses "Josiah" Stillman.

CAROLINE BEERS KANE,
Daughter of Philo and Martha Beers, an Honorary Member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Thus the first marriage within the present borders of Sangamon county* was solemnized on the second day of November, 1820. In order that this incident may be considered in its proper perspective we may note that when it occurred the entire population of the state hardly exceeded that of Springfield at this time. The number of residents in Sangamon county now surpasses by thousands those of Illinois in 1820. The county itself had no corporate existence, being constituted by statute the following year, and its seat of justice located "at a certain point in the prairie near John Kelly's field, on the waters of Spring creek." Only nine dwellings, all cabins, were to be found within a radius of two miles of the site of the court house, and this was the largest settlement in this county.†

A majority of the inhabitants of Illinois then lived in the southern portion, in a belt extending from Vincennes and Shawneetown to Kaskaskia and St. Louis. The Indians had been crowded to the north, but an agency was located at Fort Clark, only fifty miles from the Stillman homestead, where the tribes met and treated with officers of the national government. The wasted remains of the papooses, enwrapped cocoon-like in coffins of wickerwork, still swung rocking in the treetops of Fancy Grove. Wolves and deer were far more numerous than human beings along the Sangamon.

And the winsome bride placed her hand within her husband's and they twain set our for their new home at Carlyle, across the unfenced prairies and through forests scarcely fretted by the woodman's axe:

> "And the birds sang in the thickets,
> And the streamlets laughed and glistened,
> And the air was full of fragrance,
> And the lovely Minnehaha
> Said with voice that did not tremble:
> 'I will follow you, my husband.'"

Mr. Beers lived in Carlyle about four years, during which time he served one term as Justice of the Peace and sat for Washington county in the State General Assembly, meeting at Vandalia in December, 1824, and January, 1825.‡ Soon after the adjournment of the session he returned to Sangamon county and settled upon a farm on Fancy creek, near the old Stillman homestead. There he remained but a short time, then removed to Springfield and built the first brick dwelling house in the city, at the corner of Fifth and Madison streets, the present site of the Ideal Engine works.

Philo and Martha Beers were charter members of the Christian church organized in Springfield in 1833. Mrs. Beers was chosen deaconess of the congregation and conducted a Bible class for the benefit of the adult members.

Three children were born to them, but one of whom survives, Mrs. Caroline M. Beers Kane of Springfield. They lived lives of true

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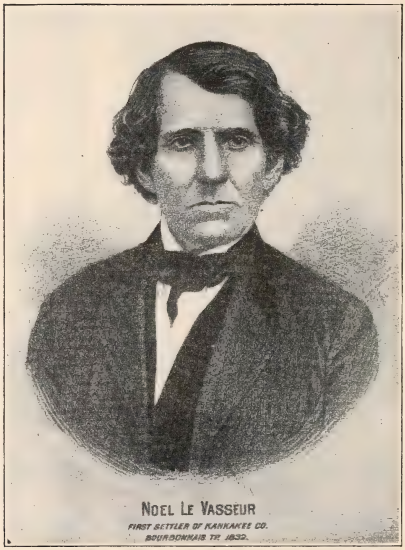
* "Early Life and Times," published by Elijah Iles at Springfield, 1883. Born 1796, died 1884. Mr. Iles donated part of the site on which Springfield was located and opened there the first merchandise store in the country in 1821. "Philo Beers and Miss Stillman were the first couple married in Sangamon county."—"Early Life and Times."

† See House Journal, session at Vandalia, 1824. Letter written by Philo Beers, while member of Assembly, dated Vandalia, December 16, 1824, in possession of Caroline Beers Kane. Caroline Maria Beers was born in Sangamon county, February 20, 1827. She was married in 1847 to Rev. Andrew J. Kane, active in the Christain ministry for over fifty years. Mrs. Kane is still a resident of Springfield and prominent in the social set of the capital. She is a member of Springfield Chapter, D. A. R., and an honorary member of this society.

‡ Iles' "Early Life and Times," *ante*, p. 31

worth and of genuine value to their neighbors and their posterity. Mrs. Beers died in 1845. Her husband survived her thirteen years. Both were given interment at the old Hutchinson graveyard, but upon its abandonment as a place of burial their remains were removed to Oak Ridge, the beautiful cemetery near the capital city.

There they rest, side by side. Where strong trees spread their giant branches and wear their leafy crown; where soft winds whisper to the grasses and sway the flowers; where the sunshine plays by day and dews shed gentle tears for the dead by night; where waking birds in the gray light of each succeeding dawn twitter prophecies of an eternal morning, they sleep well.



NOEL LE VASSEUR

FIRST SETTLER OF KANKAKEE CO.

BOURBONNAIS TP. 1832.

## 5. BOURBONNAIS; OR THE EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN KANKAKEE COUNTY, ILL.

(By Hon. Charles B. Campbell.)

One of the streams whose courses lent their aid to the first exploration of the Illinois country was the river Kankakee. It is interesting to recall that it takes its rise only about two or three miles from the southermost bend of the St. Joseph river, whose waters flow into those of Lake Michigan, and that the short extent of land between these two rivers is the only interruption to continuous water from the Atlantic ocean, by way of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the St. Joseph, Kankakee, Illinois and Mississippi rivers, to the Gulf of Mexico. When LaSalle consigned his shipbuilding materials to the point on the Illinois where he purposed to construct a vessel worthy to navigate the Father of Waters, this short portage was the inducement to him to route his shipment the Kankakee way, and the story of his men's canoeing down the Kankakee river in 1679 is familiar to all. In the early part of the following century the boats of the traveler Charlevoix glided down its current; while about one hundred years after the voyage of LaSalle, Paulette Meillet,* Peoria's early French settler, with his force of about three hundred men, entering from the Illinois, moved up the Kankakee in that adventuresome sally that made him the victorious captor of the British fort and stores on the St. Joseph. These are some of the few authenticated facts that make the Kankakee river interesting to the student of its early annals.

And not only was its course convenient to the purposes of such early expeditions. Its waters afforded sanctuary to the trees of the forest, and along its banks beautiful and luxuriant woods found refuge from their inveterate enemy, the devastating fire of the prairie; and in the shelter of these woods was the congenial home of all the various birds and animals that comprised the family of the Illinois wild. And in all that grand prairie, that stretched two hundred and fifty miles from east to west across the greatest breadth of what is now the State of Illinois, and to the southward three hundred miles from the southern limits of the present commonwealth of Wisconsin, one of the not numerous regions fitted by nature for the early abode of man was these woodlands along the Kankakee. Here lived prehistoric members of our race, and built those mounds of earth now found in the county to which the river has given its name. After them here, too, dwelt and hunted successive Indian peoples—the Illini, the

* Mason, Chapters of Illinois history, p. 285.

Iroquois, the Pottawatomies. And it is not difficult to imagine, stimulated somewhat by tradition, that the possession of this attractive region was the object of many a savage conflict among the aboriginal tribes; and it may be that the broken flints along the stream now mark the sites of arsenals where the weapons of their warfare were wrought and chiseled by the arrowsmiths of that olden time, and that if we could translate the language of the lance heads and the axes of stone frequently picked up by the present inhabitants, we should read the tragic history of war as well as exciting stories of the chase. Alluring it is; but this realm is not to be entered by the writer of history, and so with only this wistful glance we turn from the flowery fields of imagination and tradition, to delve in the field of fact.

For miles and miles the waters of the Kankakee spread themselves in a wide, currentless, marshy expanse, before they are gathered and confined and directed in and along the definite channel we call the river. And likewise for years and years only indefinite tradition holds the events of the Kankakee river region, until about the second or third decade of the last century they begin to gather and flow into the constant, steady current of authentic history. And the place where the events of the Kankakee country first assume this definite course is marked on the map of this day by the good French name: Bourbonnais. For Bourbonnais is the earliest settlement on the Kankakee river.

The present village of the name is a few rods back and northeasterly from the Kankakee river and is in the county of Kankakee, about four miles northwesterly of the city of Kankakee, and about fifty-two miles southerly from Chicago.

The name itself was undoubtedly taken from that of Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., who is known to have lived in the vicinity at an early day. The exact date, or even year, of his coming to the locality is probably unascertainable.

The Peoria county personal assessment list for 1825 contains the following two items:

Francis Burbonne, trading house.....$200 00
Burbonne, Jr., Frs., trading house..... 100 00

The real estate records of Kankakee county warrant the inference that the Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., under consideration, had a son, also named Francis Bourbonnais, and, therefore, it is likely that Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., of whom we write was the same as Francis Burbonne mentioned in the Peoria county tax list, and that as early as 1825, he was a resident of that county. But as Peoria county was then large in its territorial extent, it does not follow that he was then in the locality of the site of the village that now bears his name.

Some light is obtainable from N. Matson's "Reminscences of Bureau county," published in 1872, in which a Bulbona is mentioned, who, for many years was in the employ of the American Fur Company, on the Illinois river, and who upon leaving the company, commenced trade on his own footing, establishing himself at a grove in what is now Bureau county, where he built a trading house about two miles southwest of the present site of Wyanet, and acquired a large trade, as Indians from a distance patronized his trading house

in preference to that of the fur company. And the author states that after the commencement of the Black Hawk war, Bulbona left this grove and never returned to it again, but settled in the eastern part of the State, in what is now Kankakee county, at a grove which still bears his name. It is also stated that this Bulbona married a Potawatomi squaw.

In another work by the same author ("Memories of Shaubena." Published 1872), this same Bulbona is referred to as Pierre Bulbona, and it is stated that his Potawatomie wife obtained from the Government a reservation of land on the Kankakee River. As the wife of Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., was a Potawatomie (named Catish), and obtained from the Government a reservation to her of a tract of land on the Kankakee River, and as this is the only reservation on the Kankakee to the wife of a Bourbonnais, it seems probable that the Bulbona mentioned by Matson is the Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., under consideration. And if the identity is a fact, then Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., probably did not come to the locality of the present village of Bourbonnais till the time of the Black Hawk war, and the trading house near Wyanet may be the one mentioned in the Peoria County personal property tax list as early as 1825.

Whence Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., came is also, only to be guessed. The cognomen Bourbonnais occurs in the parish records of Kaskaskia in the following entry: "Bourbonnais Cecilian, dau. of Joa Brunet B., baptized at Kaskaskia, Nov. 24th, 1712." And again the same cognomen is discovered in the records of a notary public in Kaskaskia, wherein is registered the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Bourbonnais gave a negro slave to their son-in-law Nov. 18th, 1751. It also appears that the owner of certain claims in the old French village at Peoria was one Antoine Bourbonnais. So it may be that the original settlement of the family in the Illinois country was at Kaskaskia, and that members of later generations thereof moved northward, up the Mississippi and the Illinois, planting a branch at the French settlement at Peoria; and that finally a scion of the old family settled on the Kankakee, in the person of Francis Bourbonnais, Sr. On the other hand, he may have come direct from Canada in the employ of the American Fur Company and immediately located on the Kankakee.

As to Francis Bourbonnais Sr.'s personal characteristics little is known. In his "Reminiscences of Bureau County," Matson says: "Bulbona was of French parents, and was reared and spent his youthful days among the Indians, in the wilds of the West; he was a large, rawboned, dark complexioned man, and had a coarse bass voice, and at the time we refer to [probably between 1828 and the commencement of the Black Hawk war] was far advanced in life. His wife was an Indian squaw of the Potawatomie tribe, with whom he had lived many years and raised a number of half-breed children. Their habits and dress, as well as their language, was a cross between the French and Indian, understanding and speaking the English language very imperfectly."

It is said that by his association with the Indians he became thoroughly "Indianized," and seemed to retain none of the traits of the Caucasian. One fact seems to be authentically preserved, viz.: That

when traders visited Bulbona Grove to barter for furs, after the trading was finished, whiskey could be dispensed to the Indians, and on such occasions "Old" Bourbonnais would drink as immoderately as the Indians themselves, and like them become intoxicated to helplessness.

The reservation of land to Catish Bourbonnais, before mentioned, consisted of six hundred and forty acres, being parts of four different sections on the north bank of the Kankakee River, and constitutes an important part of the site of the City of Kankakee. Catish and her husband conveyed the east half of said tract Oct. 14, 1833. The deed was acknowledged before Isaac Harmon, a justice of the peace of Cook County, Illinois, in which said land was then situated, which indicates that the Bourbonnais were then still residing in the locality. The remaining half of said tract was conveyed March 23, 1847, and the deed was acknowledged before A. H. Argyle, a justice of the peace of Atchison County, Missouri. This induces the belief that the Bourbonnais had at that time changed their residence. It is probable that they were removed westward with the Potawatomies in 1836 or 1837 to the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa—Atchison County Missouri, being not far from that place. (It may be interesting to note in passing that this latter conveyance of land by Catish and Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., was to Major Isaac C. Elston, who was the father-in-law of General Lew Wallace and of Senator Henry S. Lane of Indiana.)

When or where Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., died, the writer has not been able to ascertain.

It would seem that originally the name Bourbonnais was applied to all that timber where now are the city of Kankakee and the village of Bourbonnais, which was accordingly known as Bulbona's Grove. Who first applied the name to this portion of the Kankakee woods cannot now be learned, but such a prominent landmark as this grove could not long remain without receiving a designation, and trappers and hunters and traders and travelers fell naturally into the custom of referring to it by the name of its white denizen.

One of these early traders passed up the Kankakee river through this locality as early, probably, as 1820, or perhaps even two years earlier; but it is not known that at that time he stopped here, or that he received any particularly favorable impressions of the place, or that he had any thought or any intimation as to its future importance and his connection with it. He continued his course up the Kankakee to the point where it receives the Iroquois, a few miles above the city of Kankakee, and thence up the Iroquois to a crossing of that stream. This crossing seemed to focus numerous Indian trails, which led from all directions over the Grand Prairie. This fact may have suggested to him the strategic value of the place for traffic with the Indians, and there he established a trading post and engaged in the Indian trade. The place has since come to be commonly known as Bunkum, and lies near the point where the C. C. C. & St. L. R. R. now crosses the Iroquois river in the county of Iroquois. This trader

was a French Canadian, and his name was Noel Le Vasseur. And as it was he who afterwards made Bourbonnais a French settlement, a somewhat detailed account of him is warranted in this address.

He was born at St. Michel de Yanaska, Province of Quebec, Canada, in 1799. The exact date of his birth is preserved in his name, for Noel is the French word for Christmas, and he was born on Christmas night. His family was poor. Theirs was a log cabin home, and it is probable that very early the boy Noel became inured to hardship and developed the traits of character and powers of endurance that were to serve him in this new country. Before he had completed his eighteenth year he went west with eighty men, under one Rocheblave, to engage in trade with the Indians. He left Montreal May 15, 1817, and was in Mackinac during the succeeding summer. Here Rocheblave sold his project to the American Fur Company.

It seems that Le Vasseur must have abandoned the service of the fur company here, for it is said that he and a companion, together with an Indian, during the year 1817 embarked in a frail canoe on a hazardous trip through the country now embraced within the boundaries of Wisconsin. Following the west shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, and thence going by way of the Fox river and the portage to the Wisconsin, they paddled down the latter to the place where is now Prairie du Chien. Here they found favor with a band of Chippewa Indians, and remained with them until the following spring. Le Vasseur's adaptability is evidenced by the fact that he so ingratiated himself with the Indians that when he desired to leave them the chief informed him that he had been made a member of the tribe, and they would not consent to his departure; and he and his companion were compelled to plan a secret escape, which they successfully carried out. But it involved much privation. They made their way on foot to Green Bay. They were ragged and weakened from insufficient food when they found succor at a temporary camp of the American Fur Company on Green Bay They were then sent on to Mackinac, and there re-engaged in the service of the fur company.

But Le Vasseur's experience with the Indians on this adventure proved of great value to him. He had learned their tongue, and from this time foward he was sent to various distant points to barter with the Indians, until the fur company finally deputed to him the important mission into the Illinois Country to open trade relations with the Potawatomies, who were reported very successful in capturing furs. It is said that Le Vasseur's dealings with the Indians were very successful, and were likewise always satisfactory to the Indians. In those early days in all of his transactions with his red brethren, as well as in his relations to others, he exemplified the spirit of what our President has popularly characterized the "square deal."

One of his methods of bookkeeping, particularly, is of interest, especially in view of the fact that he could not read or write. His entries were pictorial. At the head of the account with any particular Indian he would draw a picture of that which the Indian's name would ordinarily suggest. For instance, if he had opened an account with an Indian by the name of Beaver, at the top of the page he

would draw the picture of a beaver. And if Beaver had bought powder on time, there would have been numerous black specks placed on the page, with the picture of a round moon for each month of time that credit was given. Or if Beaver had bought a gun or knife an appropriate picture would be the entry. And when Beaver would come with his pelts and furs to pay his bill he himself could read and understand this account in LeVasseur's ledger, and would be entirely satisfied with its correctness.

In 1818, at Mackinac, LeVasseur had become acquainted with Gurdon S. Hubbard, and it is said that some years later he and Hubbard both left the service of the fur company and formed a partnership and engaged in the fur business themselves. It may be that this was about the time of the establishment of the post on the Iroquois, and that this post was established in the interest of their partnership and not for the fur company. It is, however, certain that for many years LeVasseur maintained this post, himself making trips into the tributary country, and frequently coming to Bulbona's Grove to trade with Burbonnais and his Potawatomie kinsmen. And it is not to be doubted that he was much impressed by the beauty and fertility of the region.

I understand that Gurdon S. Hubbard was authority for the statement that LeVasseur settled at Bourbonnais Grove in March, 1832, and that he was Bourbonnais' first actual white settler. In the fall of this year, by the treaty of Tippecanoe, the Potawatomies ceded to the United States Government a large area of land, including that along the Kankakee, except certain reservations made therein. Most of these reservations were contiguous to Bourbonnais Grove, and LeVasseur bought much of this reserved land from the Indians.

About 1836 and 1837, under the supervision of the Government, the Indians were moved westward, and Mr. LeVasseur was the Government agent in charge of their removal. At this time his wife, an Indian woman, went with her own people, her husband, LeVasseur, continuing his residence at Bourbonnais Grove. In passing, it may be stated that her name was Watseka, and that it was after her that the county seat of Iroquois county was named. As issue of his marriage with Watseka, Mr. LeVasseur had three children, but they all afterwards died without descendants.

The opening of the Indian lands to the whites, in consequence of the treaty of 1832, attracted not a few settlers to the vicinity of Bourbonnais Grove. A postoffice was established in the locality as early as 1836, which, by the way, for nearly two years was officially designated as "Kankakee," but on March 15, 1838, its designation was changed by the postal authorities to "Bull-bonas Grove."

Catholicism made its advent in 1837, when in June Father Lalumiere said the first mass; and it was at this mass that the first baptism occurred, that of a child named André Bray. But not for several years did French settlers come, and as the theme assigned me pertains to the French settlement, I will not appropriate any of my time to the worthy pioneers who preceded the French immigration.

In 1840, LeVasseur built his first house near the place where St. Viateur's College now stands in the village of Bourbonnais. And

then he went to Canada in quest of a wife and also to induce Canadian immigration to the Bourbonnais country, which it is said he portrayed as the second promised land. He came back the following year without a companion however, but the stories he had told to his Canadian countrymen, of how fortune smiled on the frugal and industrious in his adopted home, illustrated and corroborated by his own success in the accumulation of landed wealth, kindled their imaginations. His reports were published far and wide. One who was induced by them to try his fortune on the Kankakee, makes the following statement: "They read like interesting romance. They caused a great sensation. In some localities people became greatly excited and prepared to sell their farms and holdings forthwith in order to go at once to the new country."

But it is said that the immigration to Bourbonnais did not commence until 1844. That year there came the Rivards, St. Pierres, Flageoles, Legris, Delunais, Lapolice, Martins, Savoies, Belgards, Lafluers, Coriveaux and other families no less prominent.

Le Vasseur interested himself actively in the welfare of all the new accessions to the colony. He located their land at the government land office; sold them land, and helped them to build their homes. In 1846 the early reports of Le Vasseur, concerning this splendid country, were revived; and that year witnessed perhaps the largest number of French Canadain immigrants to Bourbonnais. In 1847 three men came on behalf of Canadian friends and relatives to investigate conditions and report thereon. They were John B. Letourneau, Captain Fortin and Alexander Boucher. They all returned to Canada, carrying back most encouraging reports of the general prosperity enjoyed by the Bourbonnais settlers. But with them had come George R. Letourneau and Godfrey Mathieu, who remained and became permanent and substantial factors in building up this prosperous community. The next year, others came, moved by the favorable reports of John B. Letourneau and his associates of the preceding year.

Among those who came in the years 1846, 1847 and 1849 were Peter Spink, the four Fortin brothers and families, the two Langlois brothers and their families, the Dellibacks, David Granger, the Brosseaus, Joseph E. Labrie, the Bissettes, Rossettes, Lesages, and Alexis Carrom. The French immigration practically ceased with the years 1850, 1851 and '52. Among the last immigrants were the families of the Grandpré brothers, of Constantin, of the two Berard brothers, the Lesages and Brais.

For years all immigrants from Canada, whatever their ultimate objective, came primarily to Bourbonnais and made this the base of their first plans and operations in the new country. Many of them settled afterwards in other portions of the county or in neighboring counties. Our appreciation of the importance of the French settlement here and our interest in it must be greatly increased when we pause to think that from it went forth the people who established every other French town in Kankakee and Iroquois counties. Kankakee in a large measure, St. Anne, LeErable, St. Mary, Papineau, all must acknowledge Bourbonnais as the mother; and, more than

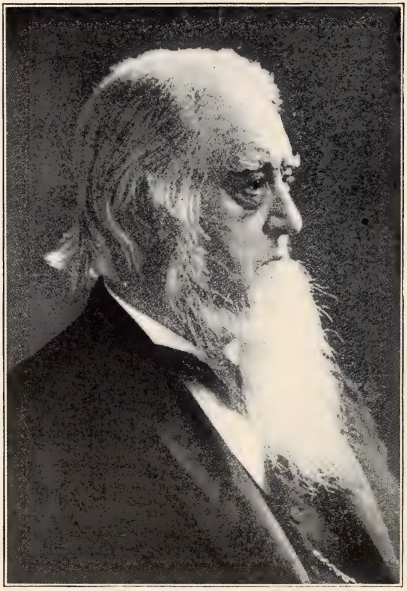
that, from old Bourbonnais and these, her nearby children, sprang all the French Canadian colonies of Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas.

This is the story of Bourbonnais and the early French settlement thereof; but we must not leave the account of Le Vasseur so incomplete. He was united in marriage with Miss Ruth Bull, of Danville. As the issue of this marriage there were eight children, four boys and four girls; all of whom are now deceased, except one, Mrs. Dr. Monast, of Chicago. Mrs. Le Vasseur was a protestant, but she reared all of her children in the Catholic faith of her husband. She died in 1860. Mr. Le Vasseur was again married in 1861.

On March 15, 1875, there was held an election of the Bourbonnais citizens for the purpose of voting on the proposition to incorporate the Village of Bourbonnais under the general law. The order in which the citizens cast their votes at this election, was probably not prearranged, but it seems appropriate and the fact is that a list of names of voters who participated in that election as it appears among the files of the County Court of Kankakee county, is headed by the name of Noel Le Vasseur It seems that another election was held on the 13th of April of that year, for the same purpose, which resulted in the incorporation of the Village of Bourbonnais; and Noel Le Vasseur appears as a voter at that election also.

He died in 1879; full of years and honor. His mortal remains rest in the cemetery near the old town and in the locality wherein through his influence thousands of his Canadian countrymen found and made contented, prosperous homes.

It is not improbable that there are still extant in Canada, old newspapers or other prints, containing the accounts which Le Vasseur gave to his people sixty-six years ago,—and his glowing prophesies of the future greatness of the country to which he then urged them to come. They would be interesting at this time. Events have confirmed and fulfilled them all. Those people who acted upon his representation have been benefited and they have benefited others. Their material prosperity has been great. They have made their little city a seat of learning. St. Viateur's college attracts the ambitious youth of many states and prepares them for the best in life. They have supported that other pillar of good government, religion. And at Bourbonnais, the mother of the French towns, and the mother of Catholicism in the Kankakee country, there seems to be a double significance in the appellation of her great religious congregation and institution, "The Church of the Maternity." Her people have been sober, industrious, energetic and progressive. They have proven themselves useful and worthy citizens of the country they have adopted as their own. From among them have been chosen men who have honorably filled positions of public trust; and there is not a legitimate industry or business, there is not a learned profession, whether it be of music or medicine or law or theology, that is not today graced by descendants of the early French settlers of Bourbonnais.



SAMUEL WILLARD.

## 6. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF LIFE IN ILLINOIS—1830 TO 1850.

(By Samuel Willard.)

A little Yankee boy, then just nine years old, in December, 1830, familiarly walked the streets of mazy Boston, all unforeseeing that in April of the next year he should become an Illinoisan, and so remain for the next seventy-five years of his long life. That boy, now in his eighty-fifth year, is asked to tell how Illinois, which was, as a state, only three years older than himself, looked to his observant eyes; and what he thought of the people, mostly southern, among whom he was thrown.

It is a very trite saying that we live in a transitional age. I object to that sage maxim if it is understood to mean that other ages are not transitional. The student of man and of history sees that all ages have been ages of movement. One need not be a believer in Darwin's special theories of evolution to assert that, as strongly as does the Darwinian. The fact is as patent in the time of Solon in Athens or of Caesar in Rome as it is in European history from 1700 to 1900. But there are vast differences of movement. Take the eighty-four years of my life as a measuring rod and apply it anywhere upon the panoramic map of history; nowhere else will you find such rapid movement, such far-reaching occurrences, such heart-shaking catastrophes, and such splendid triumphs for man as illustrate my eighty-four years.

Will you make with me the vain effort to reconstruct the world into which I was born? Dismiss at once the telegraph, telephone, and phonograph, and electricity as a working force, with its trolley cars and its illumination. Take up your railroads; for in my fifth year the first rail in America was laid by Solomon Willard, my grandfather's first cousin, to carry from the Quincy quarries to the water's edge the granite blocks for the Bunker Hill monument which he was building. Live without your daily paper and the news from every hemisphere. Let the furnaces and stoves be as rare in dwellings as open fires are now; and let the fuel be wood; our great steamers on the western rivers feed their fires with green cord-wood obtainable on the shores. Let the home light be a dipped candle, a whale-oil lamp, or a saucer of lard with a rag wick burning at the brim; for by the latter I studied most of my evening lessons in college. Bring back into most country houses the two spinning-wheels for wool and flax, and clothe

men and women in home-spun and home-dyed garments; for the few factories are insufficient and Lowell is not yet built. Shoes are made by the shoemaker only, of the same shape for both feet, not for right and left. Let your colleges be few, the preparatory schools be private enterprises called academies; and the common schools, except in New England, mere puny promises of what we have now. Restore slavery with its inhumanities and its political jealousies and bickerings in nearly all the states except New England and the free Northwest; for it did not end in New York until my sixth year. Cut down the number of states to twenty four, all east of the Mississippi, save Missouri and Louisiana; and count the total population of the whole land less than ten million, or less than twice what Illinois has now. Give back to Mexico, Texas and all the states that bestride the Rocky Mountains or border the Pacific, except Washington and Oregon, wild wastes, of which Bryant wrote,

> "Or lose thyself in the continuous woods,
> "Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
> "Save its own dashings."

Cover all the gold of California, and return to the time when the owner of a gold watch was surely an opulent person, and the mines of the Rockies had not cheapened silver spoons.

If it were not so far from my assignment I would expatiate upon the moral, social and spiritual effects of the great changes, whose proximate cause I find in Watt's perfecting the steam-engine in 1780, forty years before my time; he gave a push and set millions of wheels to whirling. I can only say that I was born into one world, and shall die in another.

My father migrated from Boston to Carrollton, Greene County, in March and April, 1831, taking 27 days to reach Bluffdale, in Greene county. He had his wife and three sons, of whom I was the oldest. We traveled by stage and steamer till we reached Pittsburg, and thereafter by steamers only on the Ohio, Mississippi and Illinois. I thus saw the steamboats of that time, and the broadhorns or flatboats, and the keel boats, not then obsolete, but near the end of their days.

I saw St. Louis when it was a city of less than 5,000 inhabitants, fast growing out of its French characteristics, one of which was the European narrowness of its streets, few in number. Third street was a border street on the edge of the country.

The end of our travel was a passage in a canoe up a "sloo," and we were put upon a prairie with two and a half miles to walk to John Russell's house. Household goods went from Boston to New Orleans, and came north by boat, arriving much later. Another colony of Yankees came during the summer.

Perhaps the first thing that caught my attention in my new home was the language of the people. My parents had kept me from any of the rustic ways of New England speech and from its snappy word-clipping; but the broad vowels of the south and west were strange to me. For instance, I was used to the flat vowel in "there" rhyming with "fair"; our neighbors said "tha-r". It was no longer strange, yet notable, when in New Orleans, in 1884, I heard in contrast in the parlor of the hotel the voices of both the southern women and the

northern from Illinois and adjacent states. Of words, powerful for very, was amusing. A man saw no incongruity in saying of his sick wife, 'she's powerful weak today." Mighty was used in the same way: "A mighty nice woman." There is a single instance in King James's Bible; "A mighty strong wind." "Right" for very, was new to me. "right smart chance" for a large quantity seemed ludicrous. "Ridiculous" was an epithet for something excessive, scandalous or unreasonable; when one man injuriously assaulted another, "the way he behaved was ridiculous." Toothache was "a misery in the teeth." Why should a bride groom of twenty-one call his bride of sixteen at once "my old woman", while she spoke of him as "her old man"? To the Yankee the most of the day before the meridian sun was the forenoon, the western people knew no such time and never used the word; they took the Bible literally—"the evening and the morning were the first day"—and spoke of no other divisions of the day. On the playground when the signal for the beginning of school was heard, the cry was "Books! Books!" and when the pupils rushed out, "School's broke!" "Su-vi-grus" I heard often, meaning fierce, cruel, severe; it was a coinage for savage, in the form of sav-ag-er-ous; so sockdologer, the finishing or decisive stroke in a fight, was only a coined transposition of doxology.

Money had new designations. The Yankee and the Virginian agreed on six shillings to the dollar, but the Yankee reckoned by shillings and pence; the Virginian, in Illinois at least, did not. American coins were few; the Spanish dollar and its fractions had the field, the dime came in slowly, "the dollar of our fathers" was never seen. From 1835 to 1844 there was a great circulation of French five-franc coins, with many an Italian, Austrian, or German piece, but Spain held its ground until the United States put the value of the Spanish quarter at twenty cents at the post office, and in 1844 for the first time charged postage in its own coin. In Illinois the eighth of a dollar was a "bit," the sixteenth was a "picayune"—a word, strange to say, of unknown source, being neither Spanish, French, nor Italian. Prices were oftener given as two bits, four bits, or six bits, than in cents or the fraction of a dollar. The joke ran that the countryman asked six bits for his load of wood, but refused seventy-five cents and three-quarters of a dollar, the latter expression being unfamiliar. The Yankee had to drop his "fo'pence" and "ninepence" for the bit and the picayune. But the bit, or eighth of a dollar was also called a York shilling, because in the Revolutionary war the credit of New York had fallen so far that eight shillings equalled one dollar.

As I have said that the United States post office was an agency in driving out the Spanish coin. I will tell of the operation of the postal department. I remember reading in the papers of those times about extravagant contracts for wrapping paper and twine for the post office department. No one hears of such complaints now, but then the paper and twine were a necessity. Let us suppose that the postmaster at Alton has nine letters to send out when the next stage shall arrive. Two are for Boston, on each of which the postage is 25 cents, one paid and the other unpaid. He has a waybill, three inches square, printed in columns. He writes the heading "Alton to

Boston," puts in proper columns the facts about the letters, dates it, and signs his name, David Smith, Postmaster, puts the waybill with the letters and wraps all up in a piece of brown paper furnished by the post office department, ties it with United States twine, and directs it to Boston, Mass. The next letter is to go to Dayton, Ohio. He must go through the same process, except that he first consults a directory and finds that the distance is such that he must charge $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents for it. Now he has four letters for St. Louis, the postage on each $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. But no letters are in envelopes in those days, and if a letter contains another piece of paper or anything else, a sample of ribbon, for instance, the postage must be doubled. Postmaster Smith is suspicious of one of these letters, so as a vigilant servant of the government he turns and twists and squeezes the suspected letter to see if it may bear double postage, and despite ingenious folding he discerns a bit of silk and a bankbill. So he marks the letter $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents; but as the sender has paid him a picayune, that fact must appear on the letter and on the waybill Just then Willard comes in with the tenth letter, also to St. Louis, written on a sheet as large as the leaf of one of our metropolitan dailies, which he exhibits to the postmaster and folds and seals with a wafer in his presence, ten times as heavy and five times as large as the letter on which triple postage has been noted, but as it is but one piece, it goes for single rate. The other three letters being to different places, Smith must estimate their distances and price them and wrap them up.

He has now his ten letters put up in six packages, tied and directed. An envelope could be used for a letter only by putting the letter into it in the presence of the postmaster to show him that but two pieces of paper were used; then it was charged double rate. Such was the awkward, cumbersome, costly way of the post office in this country, famous for its ingenuity, until July 1, 1845. On that day I mailed a letter at a country post office where the postmaster said that he had forgotten that there was a new law! Stamps and full prepayment came by much later laws. England was in advance of us all the time until Armstrong devised the railway mail-service.

I watched the process of the election of members of Congress and local officers in Greene county in 1832, my father being a clerk at the election. In preparation, large sheets of paper were ruled into columns, a broad one for the name of the voters, and as many narrow ones as there were candidates for the offices, their names being written at the heads of the columns. The voter came up and declared for whom he voted, the two or three clerks recording his declaration. It was slow work, but the voters were not many, and there was no crowding or haste, I remember that my father said to the other clerks and judges of election, "while we are waiting for voters, let us do our voting." There were three candidates for Congress, and one got so few votes that I wondered that he ran at all. He was Sidney Breese, later a famous man in the State, probably he ran well in other counties. This *viva voce* method gave the friends of local candidates an advantage, since they could keep track of the election and call in laggard voters for their candidate or party. But independent or whimsical voting was difficult. The ballot was introduced in 1848.

Schools at that time were private schools, held by any man who could get subscribers enough to pay him for his undertaking. Whoever will may read of them in my History of Early Education in Illinois, included in the Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1883-84. No great scholarship was required of the teacher, as no pupil expected to learn more than the famous triad of reading, writing and arithmetic, unless a teacher better than usual could get up a class in geography. Spelling fell in with reading. Isaac R. Greene was teaching in Carrollton in 1831; in the winter of 1831-32 my father followed him. Julius A. Willard was a natural teacher, and went beyond the customary lines. He made a small blackboard for his school, though there were few in the Boston schools of that date, and since slates were few and costly, he made the younger children learn to shape letters and to write by giving them small boards and chalk. He astonished his pupils at first by giving out the words of the spelling lesson not in the order in which they were in the column in the book, the pupils had counted and ascertained what word should come to each. When he gave out "intricate," up went a hand in protest, "that isn't the word Mr. Willard, definite is the first word." Pupils changed place in the line when a word was missed, and the head of the class at night began at the foot the next morning. I saw not long since in the newspapers the death of Revel W. English, who was one of his older pupils.

But the Yankee schools of Greene and Willard were not without a rival of an older type, known as the "loud school." In the loud school the pupil was not only permitted to study his lesson aloud, but was expected to do so, silence was evidence that he was not studying and might be at mischief. I was in a part of the town into which I rarely went, when I heard a humming sound like the noise of a distant mill. I looked for its source and went towards the nearest log cabin. There was the loud school. I could hear one going over his spelling: B-a-ba- k-e-r- ker, baker; c-i- ci- d-e-r- der, cider. Another pupil would be reading from the English reader or from the stories at the end of the spelling book: "My name is Novel"—"Norval," says the manly voice of the teacher; while another boy is struggling with the sevens in the multiplication table and has got as far as "7 times 8 is 46," and the bass voice of the teacher chimes in "for reproof, for correction, for instruction." Children are apt to move their lips while studying, and it is reported that Saint Ambrose, in the sixth century, was wondered at because he could read and understand without moving his lips.

One part of my real education, one practically very valuable, cannot be obtained by a boy in these days of factories and abounding commerce. In such a primitive community, all the primary and necessary trades could be seen in their operations, and as the workmen found that I never touched tools or materials, they allowed me considerable freedom in their shops, and answered my reasonable questions. I saw the round logs drawn from the woods and squared into building timber by old John Dee's broadax, queer with its handle set askew. I saw what I think cannot now be seen anywhere in the United States, the framing and raising of Joseph Gerrish's house,

done in the old style. The timbers of two sides were framed or put together with treenails or pins, while the timbers of the other sides were laid near where they would be wanted, every piece being marked and numbered. Then all the neighbors were invited to the "raising," and these sides were lifted by hands, then by pikes, and lastly by long poles, while Gerrish and Dee guided the tenons of the corner posts into the mortises. Had they been careless or let the post slip, the framing would have fallen in wreck with loss of life. While a few guarded these erected sides, most went to set up the timbers and studs of the other two sides, where many hands but less of strength were required. Whether Mr. Gerrish furnished the brown jug, usual upon such occasions, I do not remember, I suppose that he did. For the finishing of the house no costly pine or soft wood was had; a rough shed was built, in which oak boards were stacked on trestles loosely, so that fires built under them might slowly expel the sap and so "season" them; laborious planing took off the smoke and shaped them. I saw the making of lime as it was done in Greece twenty-five centuries ago. A pile of hickory wood, eight or ten feet high, was topped with a load of broken limestone; the wood was fired, and next morning there remained only the white ashes and the calcined stone turned to clear white lime. I watched the work of the tanner with the raw hides, and of the currier while he finished them, then I saw the shoemaker and the saddler in all the processes of their occupations. I scanned the work of the blacksmith and the farrier, and learned its reasons. More familiar was the work in wood by the carpenter and the cabinet-maker. When Smith and Baker built a saw mill and then a flouring mill, I was the interested watcher of the whole proceeding. In the flouring mill I understood every step of the business, from the winnowing of the wheat to the barreling of the perfected flour. Pine lumber was in those days floated down the Mississippi in rafts which were broken up at St. Louis. The boards for Carrollton were brought up the Illinois to Bushnell's Ferry, now Columbiana, and taken thence in wagons. While in the river they became ingrained with sand, greatly to the discomfort of the carpenter, and caused the early dulling of his planes, as I knew from experience.

How to put up an ash hopper and to make soap, both soft and hard, I knew before I was ten years old. The art of the cooper I did not see in Carrollton, but in 1835, in the shop of Irving Randall, I knew Elihu Palmer, afterward a noted Baptist preacher, and his brother John. Both went to the academy, out of which grew Shurtleff College, as fellow pupils with me. Thus it happened that I saw our late senator and governor, John M. Palmer, make his first barrel.

Since there was no sister in our family, I was made my mother's chief assistant and learned more of cookery than I remember, and my father taught me, often an unwilling pupil, much of gardening. All this sort of technical education has proved of great use to me.

I may record it as a part of my Illinois training, that my father took a Whig newspaper, the "Illinois Patriot," and before I was

eleven years old I was familiar with the names of the leading politicians of the nation, Andrew Jackson and his cabinet, and with the vehement political controversies then going on.

I think that few people are aware that our plague, the rat, is a later comer to America than the white man. He is a Tartar, he entered Eastern Europe soon after 1700, and reached England about the time of Braddock's defeat. Like the white man, he has traveled west. It is not strange then, that in 1831 I saw men looking with curiosity at a dead rat on the levee in St. Louis as Chicago boys would look at a dead raccoon in the street. In 1833 there were no rats in Carrollton except in the warehouse of John Evans and in the two or three houses next it. But in 1831 prairie wolves used to come within a half-mile of the village, and I heard them take toll of pigs, which beasts acted as scavengers and ran loose, like the cows. There were no laws for the enclosure of animals, the fields and the gardens must be fenced, which was at that time the most economical way. After the corn was gathered, gaps were left in the fences, and the cows of the village found fodder in the stalks and the omitted ears. A "painter," that is a panther or really a cougar was said to infest the woods near Carrollton at that time, but there really was one near Upper Alton and even on the road between that place and Lower Alton in the year 1838.

Strawberries were not cultivated, but delicious small ones were abundant in the grass of the prairies, tiny but sweet. I went into the woods to gather luscious plums for preserves, the canning of fruit was yet to be invented. The tomato was in 1828 regarded as a mere garnish to adorn the edge of the meat platter, many thought it poisonous since it belongs to the family of the belladonna or nightshade. By 1832 my parents, who were pioneers in experiments, were eating tomatoes as everybody does now. The New Englanders in Illinois greatly missed the golden glow of the dandelion in the grass, and wrote to their friends to bring seeds when they should come, and thus was it introduced.

The country people of Greene county brought little of their produce to the town except cordwood, grain for the mill, and peaches, apples, and potatoes in their seasons. The women brought chickens alive, eggs, and butter. Of the quality of the butter there could be no boast. Mr. Alexander said to one of his customers. "If you had left a little more buttermilk in it, I could have squeezed out a good drink." An English woman who was noted for the excellence of her butter thought that there was not ventilation enough in the dairies; and using a superfluous "h" she said to her mother. "They don't give it hair enough." But I saw some samples which could have been improved by putting the hair on one plate and the butter on another. Time and a perception of the demands of the market improved the butter.

In this land of strange customs it disgusted me to see people eating loppered milk, calling it bonnyclapper, when at my grandfather's I had seen it as pigs' food only. In most things the Yankees soon accomodated themselves to western ways, and used the open fire and Dutch oven as if accustomed to them all their lives. (By the way, Bartlett in his Dictionary of Americanisms describes a Dutch oven

about as well as if in telling of a goat he had described a jack-rabbit.) But in a few years stoves largely displaced the open fire for cooking, in the farmhouses as well as in the villages. Ten years saw a great change in that matter.

The people of Carrollton and the vicinity were mostly of southern and western birth. They called those who came from Pennsylvania or New York, Yankees. I do not remember anything but good feeling and hospitality on the part of the people toward the easterners unless the latter in some way assumed a superiority. Each side naturally felt some amusement at the different ways of the other; but expression of the feeling was good-natured. The New Englander had to give up his Thanksgiving or celebrate it in his own home only. It was harder to adopt the western enjoyment of Christmas, since the Yankee had for two hundred years opposed the festivals of the English and the Roman churches, the children were easy converts. The Methodist church, pioneer Protestant body in the west, was early in the field at Carrollton, but in 1832 the easterners were so numerous that a Presbyterian church was formed, into which the Congregationalists went; and a revival meeting added to both churches and caused the formation of a Baptist church. That was organized by the greatest Baptist preacher in the State, who is memorable for his share in the warfare of 1823-24, when a strong effort was made to turn Illinois into a slave State. John M. Peck was one of the mighty ones on the side of freedom. He traversed the State in a thorough canvass, preaching the gospel and liberty alike. He was at this time (1832) forty three years old and still in his prime. I count myself fortunate in having seen three of the leaders in that fight: Judge Samuel Drake Lockwood, John Mason Peck, and Thomas Lippincott, the latter was in 1824 a politician, but was the first pastor of the Presbyterian church in Carrollton.

In 1831 a man named Sullivan was hanged on the prairie west of Carrollton. He had murdered a boy at Eminence, a place now in Jersey county, and fled to New Orleans. I heard the testimony of the man who recognized him there, arrested him and brought him back. A Catholic priest visited him in the jail, and I heard the voices but not the words of the two in their interview: His confession was printed in a handbill. The gallows was made of an upright timber with a projecting arm about thirty feet from the ground. Sullivan and the sheriff, Jacob Fry, rode to the place in a two-horse wagon in which was a platform about six feet high. This was brought to a stand just under the end of the arm, then the sheriff and the criminal mounted the platform, the sheriff pulled the white cap over the face, stepped down, and gave the word to the driver, and the wagon moved on. A great crowd surrounded the gallows, there was no attempt at privacy. which indeed it would have been impossible to have. I do not remember that I ran away from home to witness the scene, I am sure that my father was not there. I remember seeing one of the eminent attorneys-general of the State, George Forquer, at a trial in Greene county about this time, but not at Sullivan's trial.

Another infliction of punishment which would now be more revolting in public than the hanging would be, I saw on the public square in

Carrollton in 1832. There was then no penitentiary in the State, hence other penalties had to take the place of confinement. Near the courthouse on the public square there was set a strong post, an unhewn log, ten feet high, with a cross-piece near the top. I saw a man brought from the jail by the sheriff and a constable, to be whipped thirty lashes for the theft of a horse. He was stripped naked to the hips, his hands were tied and the rope was carried to the cross-piece and drawn as tight as could be without taking his feet from the ground. Then Sheriff Fry took that terrible instrument of punishment and torture, a rawhide. Probably many of you have not seen one. To make it, a taper strip of soft wet cowskin was twisted until the edges met, and the thing was dried in that position. It was hard, ridgy, and rough, but flexible as a switch, three quarters of a yard long. The sheriff began laying strokes on the culprit's back, beginning near his neck and going regularly down one side of his backbone, former sheriff Young counting the strokes aloud. Each stroke made a red blood-blister. When fifteen blows had been counted, the officer paused, and someone ran to the poor wretch with a tumbler of whiskey, then the other side of the man received like treatment. Then the man's shirt was replaced, and he was led away to the jail. One of the bystanders said, "O Lord! he isn't near as bad cut up as G. H. was when L. M. flogged him three or four years ago." Boy as I was, I did not know what a dreadful infliction it was. The whipping-post remained there two or three years, but I never heard of any further use of it.

The pestilence called Asiatic cholera was first described by a Portugese physician in 1560. A missionary doctor told me that it is always present in Hindostan. In 1817 it began a new career, moving westward from Bengal slowly but steadily, until it had overrun Persia, and in 1823 it had touched the borders of Russia. It lay dormant for seven years, and then it moved forward again, now rapidly, in the direction of the great human migrations. It swept Russia in 1830, and ravaged England in 1832, having left a record of 900,000 dead on the continent. It appeared in Quebec, June 8, 1832, and fourteen days later it was in New York, and following the lines of commerce and travel along the Ohio and Mississippi, it was by October of that year in New Orleans and St. Louis. Generally but not always the cold weather checked it.

In a suppressed terror, as awaiting an inevitable fate, the village of Carrollton looked for the arrival of the pestilence in 1833. Its poison went in the air, even now we know not wholly how. In some cases it verified Magendie's dictum to his class, "Gentlemen, cholera is a disease the first stage of which is death!" Its premonitory stage was one of painless purging and vomiting, this was followed by sinking of all the powers of life, spasms, collapse, and death. Sometimes the first stage was brief, and the violent infection of the poison carried the recipient of it into the fatal stage at once. I was a patient with cholera in 1833, surviving three onsets of it, as a physician I met it in 1851.

Sometimes the infection was so slight that persons of vigorous constitution seemed to throw it off. Such was the case with my father, who never took to his bed, and with my mother. She went to St. Louis in the spring of 1833, and soon after was very ill. Dr. Burritt said after seeing cholera cases that she had had a touch of it.

Before the middle of June, Mrs. Clemson, who had not been near our house, died of cholera. Instant alarm spread through the town. Many fled, most of those who did not or could not flee thought flight hopeless, for the poisoned air seemed to spread over the land. The shops and stores were open only when some one specially called on the proprietor. Nothing was brought in from the country. A townsman went out to get some chickens for the comfort of the convalescents; as he approached a farmhouse, the question was shouted at him, "are you from Carrollton?" At the word "yes," the family ran to the cornfield leaving him to take what he could find.

In the town, the silence of night settled down upon the day, save as the physicians and the well moved about in care of the sick. "Are there any new cases?" was the word on meeting. The daily stage with the United States mail came and went as usual; other wheels rarely broke the silence except as the dead were taken away from desolated homes. The sound of cabinet-maker's tools might be heard as he made a coffin of unseasoned black walnut—there were no undertakers then; and the rank smell of that wood became to me so associated with this horror that for years I could not bear the odor.

There were no gatherings of people in groups; I do not remember any religious rites at the funerals, any word of hope or courage; I do remember hearing the doleful tones of Dundee one Sunday in the last of the sad time.

In my father's family were eight persons. My mother's nurse, Ruth Rider, was taken suddenly and died soon. I was then sick. Rachel Scott, the hired help, but more an equal member of the family than a hireling, was a little ill when her brother came to take her to Pekin, on the Illinois river. Against advice, as if glad to get away, she went with him. While they waited for a boat, cholera came upon her. The family of the house where they were fled away. Her helpless brother stood by until she died. He now looked for help for a burial, but the only word was given from a distance, "dig a grave on the river bank, wrap her in the bed clothes, and cover her in it."

June 25th, my youngest brother, Charles, a sunny boy of four years, died of cholera; ten days later I first saw death as I watched with my father and the doctor till brother John drew his last breath. Four of the eight were now gone. I remember the anxious face of my father a few days later when I went through a third crisis and survived, left the only child of my parents.

In the haste of the frequent funerals, the memorials at the heads of the graves were ill-marked or not marked, and few could tell where their dead were laid.

At last life prevailed over death, and the plague abated as sinks a tidal wave. Of the 500 people in the town about thirty-three, one in sixteen I remember my father calculated, died in the seven weeks or more of the pestilence. I have no memoranda of names. After a few days of rest, my father and Dr. Burritt went to Jacksonville to give help there.

One singular thing remained in our memories in contrast with the sadness. It was noticed after the silence brooded over the town that every morning a mocking bird in a tree near our house would begin his song with all its rich variations, warbling and trilling with his clear voice. Starting on a lower branch, as he sang he would fly to one a little higher, then to another still higher, until at last he reached the topmost spray. Then, as if borne up by the stress and outburst of his own melody, still singing, he would fly up a few feet in air, and sink back as if exhausted, soon to begin his solo again.

In the year when the cholera was overrunning Europe, the first complete railway, with Stevenson's newly-invented locomotive, was opened in England. The ensuing interest and imitation was world-wide. Among the states that plunged at once into building railroads to be owned and operated by the state, our own Illinois was foremost. A map of Illinois for the year 1837 shows a wonderful network of projected railways notably unlike those that the developed commerce of later years has created. It was the politician's map, devised by personal greed and carried by log-rolling—"you vote for my road, I vote for yours." But the State set thousands of men at work to make cuttings and embankments. Almost all of this labor was in vain, and the commercial crash of 1837 left the State burdened with a heavy debt and with only one short railroad to show. That was called "The Northern Cross Railroad," running from Meredosia on the Illinois river to Jacksonville in 1839, when it was opened; later it was continued to Springfield.

Railroads were made in those days by laying upon the earth surface cross-ties as we lay them now; then timbers of about eight or ten inches square and of convenient length were laid lengthwise as we now lay the T rail, and were fastened to the ties. Upon the upper surface of these stringers were laid bars of wrought iron an inch thick and about three inches wide, called strap-rails. These were pierced with holes so that they might be secured to the stringers, the holes being counter-sunk, so that the square heads of the spikes should not come above the surface of the rail. The end of the strap-rail was cut at the common miter angle of forty-five degrees so that each rail might match with its neighbor and avoid the break square across which causes the perpetual click and hammering which we now hear on our roads. All this looked like the making of a good road, but in practice the weight of the locomotive and loaded cars tended to lengthen the thin strap, to loosen the end spikes, to curve up the ends and draw the spikes, and at last to make the ends stand up several inches. Such elevated points were called snake-heads. If the snake-head rose so high that it struck an approaching car wheel above its middle, the strap would be forced up into the car, generally

going through the car and doing mischief. A snake-head entered a car and shot up between a woman's knees, making a ridiculous mess of her skirts, but she was glad to have escaped deadly hurt. The accidents were often serious. Presco Wright, of Springfield, told me that he and a friend were about to start on the same car. While awaiting its coming, the friend said, "Come, Press, let's go and take our last drink together." The car had gone but a few miles when a snake-head came up through the floor, struck his friend under the chin, and pushed to his brain, carrying him up bodily, a quivering horror!

Of course trains must run slow; and there must be a perpetual lookout. Once when I was a passenger on the road from Jacksonville to Meredosia, the engineer, Cornelius Ludlam, would stop the train whenever he saw a snake-head, no matter which way it pointed. He would jump down with a hammer and a box of spikes, run forward, and nail down the peril. One day the best engine, the "Betsey Baker," went off into the ditch; and raising her was too expensive. Her lack of speed was so notorious that it was said that the cow-catcher was put on the rear to keep the cattle from running over the train. Then for a while mule-power took the place of the engine; I rode thus from Jacksonville to Springfield in May, 1845. Next followed utter abandonment of the road; a hundred thousand dollars was almost wasted; the whole concern was sold to a corporation for ten thousand dollars.

My father moved to Alton in 1834. There in 1837 I heard Webster speak, and got some notion of his power as an orator. My father was a friend of Elijah Parrish Lovejoy, and stood by him in the struggle that ended in the tragic death of that gentleman, Nov. 7, 1837. I often saw Mr. Lovejoy at my father's house and in the pulpit. He was a very gentle man; not impetuous, but mild; not of that stern stuff of which reformers are supposed to be made. He resembled the St. John of tradition, but not at all the St. Peter. His stand for the right was like that of Jesus, calm, without heat, but firm. My hearing Garrison in October, 1830, had made me hate slavery; the Lovejoy tragedy intensified the feeling. But I shall not tell of that great controversy, nor of my work in the famous Under Ground Railroad for fugitive slaves; I shall tell of an incident to which my helping a runaway slave led, though I begin far back.

The week of our arrival in Carrollton, in May of 1831, was one of excitement and stir in the little town. There was to be the wedding of Edward Dickinson Baker, a young man not yet twenty-one, with the widow Lee, older than he. I am not sure whether I then heard for the first time that French custom, the charivari or shivaree, a mock serenade of tin pans and horns, often inflicted upon ill-mated couples. I heard one that year, if not then. Baker was popular, and if some thought that he married for money, it was hardly made a fault. Certain it is that business thrived thereafter in the store of Smith and Baker, and in the mills which they built. Moses O. Bledsoe, an old lawyer, clerk of the circuit court, and probably the most influential

man in Greene County, favored Baker and led him to study law. The liking was certainly reciprocated; Baker followed Bledsoe's lead, and was even called Bledsoe's shadow.

The Campbellite Baptists were making many converts in 1832, and when Bledsoe became one of them, Baker soon followed. One Sunday I went with my mother to their church, and there I learned what was abundantly proved afterward, that Baker, young and untrained, was an orator by nature. The church was without a minister, and was served, somewhat Quaker fashion, by inspiration of the brethren. Report of Baker's exhortations had led my mother to go there. After I know not what of dull discourse by some one, Baker stepped into the pulpit. His motions were easy and graceful; his voice was full, but clear, sweet and smooth; his thoughts were pertinent, uttered in pure English, warmed by feeling and adorned with metaphors born of a fertile imagination. That all this should come vividly to me now, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century—for I even remember something that he said—shows how impressive was his speech. I know that he moved men whenever he spoke.

From Carrollton, Baker went to Springfield, and there became the partner of the oldest son of Moses O. Bledsoe, Albert Taylor Bledsoe. After the incident in their office which I am about to relate, Baker went to Congress, and took part in the Mexican war as colonel of an Illinois regiment. He went to California in 1852, and won fame in politics; but California was too hopelessly under proslavery democracy. He went to Oregon, won a republican victory there and was sent to the senate in 1860. On his way east he called to see his friend Lincoln, so that I saw him in Springfield in December of that year and talked with him. I can still call up to my vision his face as it was, darkly clouded by the anxiety which he felt in common with all patriots from that time forward. Less than a year later, impetuously leading his men as commander of a brigade, he fell in the battle of Ball's Bluff.

In February of 1843 my father and I were caught in assisting a fugitive slave to escape. It was our first attempt, neither of us was caught again. We were indicted under the statute against harboring fugitive slaves. My father was advised to get a popular pleader, one called a "good jury lawyer." We went to Springfield for one, taking advice about members of the bar in that city from a resident abolitionist, Mr. Luther Ransom. Naturally my father applied first to one whom he knew, and whose special abilities and reputation he knew. Mr. Baker frankly told him, "I am seeking a nomination for Congress, and my friends advise me not to take any case that can affect me injuriously, any case involving popular prejudices." He recommended Stephen T. Logan, who had as a lawyer the highest reputation in the state.

The Legislature was in session then in the yet unfinished and unfurnished State house, and Logan was a member of it. My father and I took seats under the gallery, and a page took a note to Judge Logan. There came to us a small, thin man, dressed in home-made blue jeans, with a hickory shirt (that is, one of coarse cotton, not

starched), not buttoned at the throat, and he had the marks of tobacco juice running down from the corners of his mouth. And this, we were told, was the foremost lawyer of Illinois! He sat down upon one of the rude benches, pulled a knife from his pocket and began cutting the bench between his legs. As soon as the case was partly stated to him he shut his knife and rose up briskly, saying: "I don't practice in Morgan."

After some further scrutiny of the list of Springfield's lawyers Mr. Ransom said to my father, "I think there is no other man here that can help you." Hesitating a little, he added: "There's Lincoln; he always helps me when I call upon him for a man that is arrested as a runaway. He is too little known; you want one that is popular and has made a name." And so we failed to employ Lincoln and make acquaintance with him. It made no difference to our case, any Morgan county jury must have convicted us on the evidence. For this reason, after the Supreme Court had decided against us on the points of law, I pleaded guilty and threw myself on the mercy of Judge Lockwood.

The first day of our search for an advocate I had remained some hours in the office of Baker & Bledsoe. Several men came in, among them was one gaunt-faced, awkward, long-limbed man, who took a law book from a case and sat down on a chair rather too low for him. I noticed the long leg thrown back and doubled up under the long thigh, like that of a grasshopper I wondered at his make-up. Some one called him Lincoln, and he smilingly replied. I had not heard the name before and remembered the man for his notable physical peculiarities.

In that office I saw at the same time three men—Lincoln, Baker, Bledsoe—whose futures no one could have guessed, even with the wildest imagination enlisted for the task. Bledsoe was of a logical mind, acute, learned, versatile, able and even powerful in any field of thought except natural science, in which he was untried. He had graduated at West Point, then taught mathematics, next studied theology and was ordained an Episcopal clergyman, but had turned to the law. Before a Supreme Court, where the humor and common sense of Lincoln and the eloquence of Baker would have availed little, the logic of Bledsoe might have outdone Logan, or have adorned that bench itself.

Had one who knew the three men been told that one of the three should become the President of the United States, and were he then bidden to point him out, he would have said: "Baker is not the man, for he was born in England; besides, eloquence doesn't win. See Clay and Webster and, earlier, Fisher Ames and Pinckney. Lincoln will do for Sangamon county, or to go to Congress from this district; but if the lightning of a presidential nomination hits him, it will hit the wrong man; he has more risk of being hit by the real article. Bledsoe must be the man."

But when we look back we see that it was the fate of Baker to share in a war with Mexico, to go to a land yet to be snatched from that

power, to become Senator from a region then tenanted by Indians and hunters only, and to lay down his life for the preservation of a nation into whose allegiance he was not born.

Bledsoe was in five years to leave his law books, to sink his splendid powers in the humdrum life of a professor of mathematics in a Southern university, gaining time to write two books; one, a theodicy to defend the glory of God, which was needless; the other to defend the glory of negro slavery, which was vain. Then when the trumpet called to arms Colonel Bledsoe became Assistant Secretary of War for the Confederacy, and went down with it. He wrote books afterward, the most notable one being entitled, "Is Davis a Traitor?"

But the third man, that ungainly, uneducated man, what of him? His fame is eternal. A thousand pens have written of his history; ten thousand tongues proclaim it; I need not. The man of the great heart was found to be the man of the great brain, worthy to rank with Washington, but better known and better loved; for to him God gave the courage, the spirit, the love, the wisdom, and the opportunity to save the nation.

## 7. THE MORMON SETTLEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

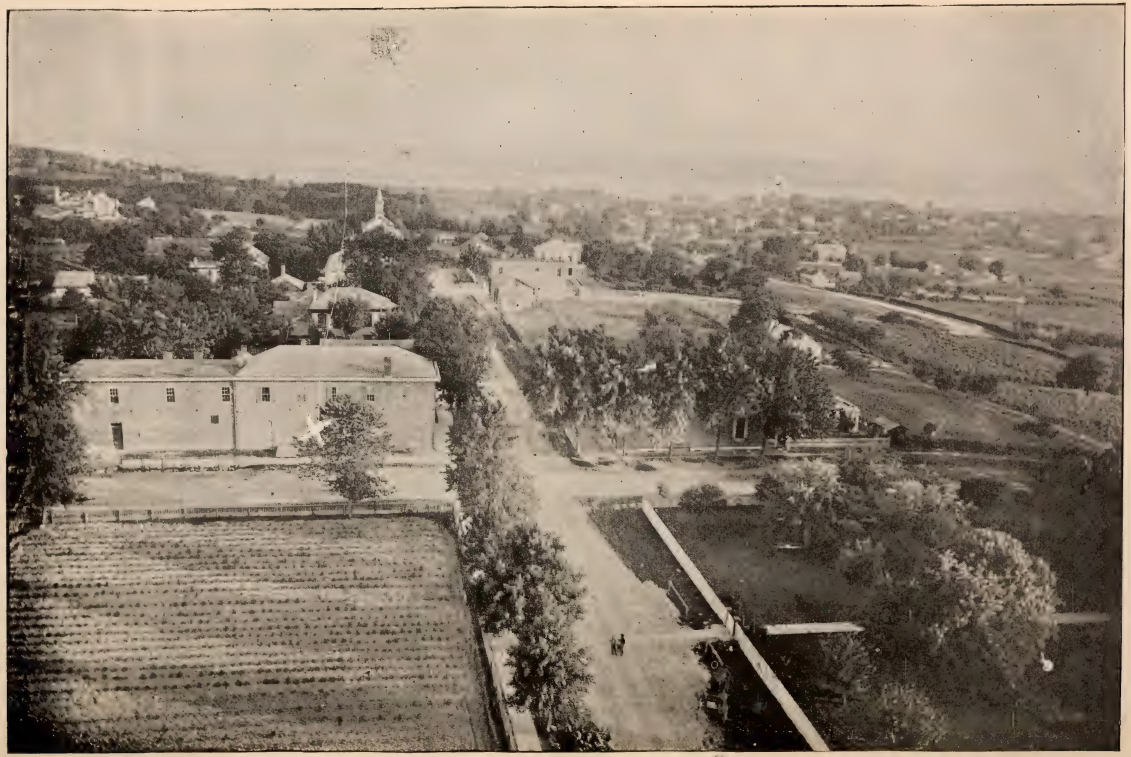
(By Hon. Orville F. Berry)

I feel safe in saying that more, possibly, has been written about the so-called "Mormons" in late years, than any other one class of individuals of the same number and importance. They have attracted very much notice in various ways, for more than three-quarters of a century. During the latter part of that period newspaper articles, magazine articles and books almost without number, have been written bearing more or less upon the subject of Mormonism; some written from the extreme anti-Mormon view, showing much prejudice and dealing with facts in a very loose manner; others written from a Mormon view with equal amount of partisanship displayed and the same treatment of facts. I do not expect to throw much, if any, new light upon the subject and shall not undertake in any particular to write up the history of the Mormon church as such, or to follow their history much beyond the borders of Hancock county.

I have, in preparing this paper, interviewed at length a large number of individuals who have large personal knowledge of the history of the Mormon church, or more particularly designated at this time, in this community, as the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." A brief review of the history of the Smith family prior to their arrival at Nauvoo, the conditions that moved them from place to place, as gathered from the members of the family largely, I believe will be of interest.

One hundred years ago the 23d day of December last there was born in a farm house located exactly on the town line between Royalton and Sharon, Vermont, a child, whose name was Smith, who became Joseph Smith the Prophet and the founder of the Mormon church or Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints. When a small boy he removed with his parents, in 1815, to Palmyra. N. Y.

In the winter of 1828-29 in the State of New York, in the village of Palmyra, the several churches united in a revival. In that revival Joseph Smith, afterwards known as the Prophet, and his sister Sophronia, as well as other members of the family, became very much interested. His sister, Sophronia, immediately thereafter joined the Presbyterian church. After the revival had closed, Joseph was in doubt, so his family say, as to which one of the churches he should join and this question he sought by prayer to God to determine, and



VIEW OF NAUVOO.

Taken from steeple of Catholic Church, looking southwest toward the Mississippi River. Cross indicates site of Nauvoo Temple.

then announced to his family and other persons that while engaged in prayer and in answer to his inquiry an angel appeared to him and said of the other churches, "They are all abomination in my sight. None of them are good." To him, they say, was given at that time, or soon thereafter, the outline and detail of the church which he proceeded to organize. Very soon after that the family removed from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, and there Joseph began to preach and to teach the doctrines of the church, and, in keeping with what he said the angel had told him, he attacked both the organization and the doctrines of practically all the other churches. In doing this he at once arrayed against him all other denominations. That feeling grew so intense in that locality, under the teaching and preaching of Joseph that a body of twenty-five or thirty men one Saturday night, prior to the time that Joseph was to preach in the neighborhood the next day, came to his house, tarred and feathered both Joseph and Hyrum and rode them on a rail, demanding that they should leave the community. After this episode, Joseph and Hyrum and their family put in the balance of the night getting off the tar and feathers, which they succeeded in doing in time to meet the appointment next day. His preaching in the same community the next day showed, in a large degree, the determined character and fearless earnestness of Joseph Smith which characterized his entire life. It is said (and I have no doubt from the information that it is true) that the persons who tarred and feathered Joseph and Hyrum Smith were highly respected people in the other churches in that community. Their being driven from Kirtland, Ohio, was, beyond question, a direct result of their religious belief and teachings. This fact, the Smith family admit. Joseph's preachings and teachings at that time were so strong against other denominations that the feeling was so intense that they were practically compelled to leave Ohio. Without stopping for detail, they went from there to Missouri. I am informed and believe it to be true, that among the other teachings of Joseph, he emphasized human freedom very strongly, and denounced in unmeasured terms, human slavery and particularly, negro slavery as then practiced in the southern states. I am reliably informed that the Mormons who preached in Missouri, were what would be called in that day, Abolitionists.

Arriving in Missouri they at once announced the building of Zion and the ingathering of the members of the church from all parts of the world. In the meantime they were preaching against slavery. At the same time not only in Missouri, but in Washington in the halls of Congress the question of the extension of slavery was an interesting and growing subject and, without stopping to detail the history of the stay of the Mormons in Missouri, it is sufficient here to say that it is not strange that preaching and talking in reference to slavery as they did both publicly and privately, they aroused the enmity of the southern slaveholder; and they were driven out of Missouri, not on account of their religious teachings in any particular, but peculiarly because of their political doctrines; for at that time slavery was an important political doctrine. Though I am informed that many of their ablest

men insisted that it would be wise to refrain from teaching or preaching against the cruelty of slavery, most of the elders and preachers refused to do so, and it resulted in great persecution and the final driving out of Missouri of Smith and all his followers. From there they came to Illinois, and it is with their history in Illinois, in a large measure, that we are at this time interested. Hancock county, Illinois, was the headquarters of the Mormon church from 1839 to 1846.

Hancock county is situated about forty miles north of the center of the State, on the west line, and within what is known as the "Military Tract." It is bounded on the south by Adams county, on the east by McDonough and Schuyler counties, on the north by Henderson county, and on the west by the Mississippi river, which separates it from Clark county, Missouri, and Lee county, Iowa. The central portion of the county is composed of the finest prairie land bordered on the west by the Mississippi and on the east by the timber lands along Crooked creek. The prairie land around Nauvoo, except immediately around the city, is a deep, black loam. The county was first settled in 1814 by the establishment of Fort Johnson and Fort Edwards, the present site of Warsaw. Hancock was first organized as a separate county in 1829, and at that time contained 350 persons. In 1839 there was a little village on the river shore, where Nauvoo now stands, called "Commerce," with but a few houses. Just below was the farm of Hugh White, and just northwest on the hill, where the temple later stood, was the farm of Daniel H. Wells, who became prominent in the church and went afterward to Salt Lake City.

While Commerce City was in fact a very small town, it was a very large city on paper, with streets, parks and boulevards galore, which had been ushered into existence by a small band of speculators. At this period, eighteen miles below, was Warsaw, with, I think possibly about 300 inhabitants; Carthage, the county seat, with about the same number. There were also Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Fountain Green, La Harpe, and a few other villages, mostly on paper, with not a newspaper of any kind in the county, the entire county having a population not exceeding 6,000. Such were the surroundings and conditions in Hancock county when the Mormon exodus from Missouri began. It will be remembered that the Smiths were in jail in Missouri when the Mormon caravan left there and arrived in Nauvoo. They afterwards escaped in some manner and appeared in Nauvoo. While a large proportion of the Mormons coming from Missouri had settled in Illinois, many of them settled just across the river from Nauvoo, in Iowa.

If you have never been to Nauvoo, and have the means, and desire to confirm your belief that the men who selected the location of Nauvoo made no mistake, it would pay you to take a trip to this unique city, but, more particularly, the unique locality or situation. The word "Nauvoo" comes from the Hebrew, and signifies "beautiful situation," or "beautiful situation for rest." It is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi river, in Hancock county, Illinois, near the headwaters of the Des Moines Rapids, 12 miles above Keokuk, Iowa; 10

VIEW OF MULHOLLAND STREET
Nauvoo, Illinois

miles above Hamilton, Illinois; 18 miles above Warsaw, Illinois; 50 miles above Quincy, Illinois; 9 miles below Fort Madison, Iowa; 30 miles below Burlington, Iowa, and 100 miles below Rock Island, Ill. Most of these cities, especially the larger ones, were organized prior to the Mormon settlement, and a careful study of their situation would indicate the wisdom of the location of the Mormons at Nauvoo.

I have travelled the Mississippi river practically from New Orleans to St. Paul, and I say without any reservation that few, if any, locations along this mighty river can compare with Nauvoo. As soon as you come into sight, and view, even at a distance, the bend of the river, the valley and the elevated bluff, you exclaim, naturally, "Nauvoo, beautiful for situation!" The river, over a mile in width, in perfect symmetry swings around a rockbound shore in a semi-circle, then drops away into the first chain of the rapids. The river approaches in a westerly course below it, goes over the rapids southward, presenting to the view a long reach of wooded bluffs from Fort Madison to Keokuk. In this bend is a most beautiful second bottom, just above high water mark, containing eight or nine blocks; then begins a gradual ascent to the Temple block, and then another, and then comes the level land and prairie to the eastward. The curve in the river is somewhat like a horseshoe. A straight line at the back of the city from shore to shore would be four miles, while the distance as measured along the river would be twice that number. Just between Nauvoo and Montrose, probably half way across from the Illinois side, is an island about a mile in length and from 75 to 300 yards in width. This island contains a heavy growth of timber, and makes a most beautiful break in the river. This is the place selected by the Mormons in 1839, when they were driven from the state of Missouri. Here, on the banks of the Mississippi river, they began the erection of buildings for homes, storehouses, and workshops, together with the magnificent temple referred to. Joseph Smith, the prophet, had issued a proclamation that his people from all parts of the world should come to Nauvoo for the purpose of making this spot the new Zion, where the work of the last days should begin. In answer to this proclamation, the followers began to come to Nauvoo from all parts of the world. Nauvoo at that time bid fair to become the leading city of the West; and in four years from the time the Mormons first settled in Nauvoo it was a city of 3,000 inhabitants.

The Gentiles, so called—meaning thereby all persons not Mormons—especially in Hancock and the surrounding counties, became alarmed at the growing power, and especially the political strength of this strange people, and, as Smith charged, became intensely jealous of their material, political, and religious progress. From facts obtained by the writer from interviews with old settlers and persons familiar with the facts of Hancock county, it cannot be doubted that they wielded a wonderful political power. I do not find the facts to justify the statement that the Gentiles were in any way jealous in regard to the religious teachings of Joseph Smith except so far as he used his religious standing to control civil affairs. He was accused of that constantly. His brother, William Smith, whose portrait appears

herein, was sent by the vote of his own people to the legislature from Hancock county. During one session he, together with the influence of Joseph, was able to procure charters of various kinds fron the legislature which, it was claimed, and the best lawyers believe, were charters unconstitutional in the power they granted. · Under these special charters the civil courts of Nauvoo were organized; and the using of the writ of habeas corpus in the civil courts of Nauvoo, authorized by these charters, was one of the principal elements that entered into the continual conflict between the other courts and this court. Many arrests were made by the sheriff and other civil officers in this and adjoining counties, and in many instances the parties were released by the writ above referred to at the court at Nauvoo.

Growing largely out of political differences, "The Expositor," a newspaper, was started at Nauvoo by Frances and Joseph Higbee, formerly belonging to that church. In its first and only issue it attacked in a most bitter manner, Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the entire system. The city council of Nauvoo ordered it suppressed, and the type was broken and thrown into the river. This occurred in 1844 and led to the arrest of the Smiths, and was the culmination of all the preceding troubles. Judge Thomas C. Sharp, for many years editor of the "Carthage Gazette," and at the time of the killing of the Smiths editor of the "Warsaw Signal," was one of the men charged with the killing of the Smiths, and, with a number of others, was acquitted of the offense. Judge Sharp was for many years the law partner of the writer, and, while it is true that he was very hostile to the Smiths and to their plan of political management, as he called it, he was not even favorable to the manner in which the Smiths came to their death. The conclusion reached by the writer, after a very careful examination of the conditions preceding and after the death of Joseph Smith, is that it was not religious controversies that led to the Mormon trouble in Hancock county and the adjoining counties, but that it was purely political, as indicated in some of the interviews published herewith. The writer believes from well established facts that have come to him from interviews with men then in active life, that a large majority of the people here known as Mormons were good citizens, but that it is equally true that there were among them men who no doubt used the church to cover up their own wickedness. This has always been true, and will continue to be in some degree.

The writer is satisfied, from evidence entirely satisfactory to him, that Joseph and Hyrum Smith did not teach and preach the doctrine of polygamy. I believe the facts justify the statement that polygamy was first promulgated and taught by Brigham Young. When Joseph and Hyrum were killed, a great struggle began among the men who had been high in the church to succeed Smith. They were unable to agree, and divided into a number of sects and companies, the larger part going west under the leadership of Brigham Young. A large branch of the followers of Joseph believed that his son Joseph was to become his successor and only successor; therefore for many years they were practically without a leader, and the branch of the church

FIRST HOUSE BUILT IN NAUVOO
Built by Capt. James White, 1828

now known in this community as the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints," are the immediate followers of Joseph Smith Jr. This church was organized in 1860. The reason I have here stated that I did not believe that Joseph and Hyrum taught polygamy, is that more of the immediate family live here possibly than in any other locality. Several of their sisters live here, and a large number of their nephews. The followers of Brigham Young have frequently come here to interview them on this subject, and have repeatedly been told that Joseph did not so teach I have been unable to find any person who ever heard either of them so teach, and the further fact remains that his son and legal successor does not teach this doctrine. The reorganized church, of which he claims to be the spiritual successor and which has been determined by the courts to be the legal successor of Joseph the prophet, does not so teach, and they are as bitter in their denunciation of polygamy as any other denomination. There are in this county quite a large number of members of the reorganized church, and as citizens of the community they stand high; while it is possible that some feel, even yet, peculiarly about them on account of the history of the church here, as individuals they could not so feel in regard to them. There resided in this county from the death of Joseph Smith, until her death a few years ago, Catherine Smith Salisbury. The writer knew her personally, has been in her house many times, and has grown up from boyhood days with her sons and grandsons, and the world would be wonderfully well off if all women were as good as Catherine Smith Salisbury. A few years ago, in an interview, she made the following statement:

"I was in Nauvoo a few days before my brothers were brought to Carthage, where they met their death. I shall never forget that Saturday, June 23, 1844, when I last saw my brothers alive.

"Joseph had preached a sermon to the largest crowd I have ever seen. It was his last sermon. I might say it was more in the nature of a prophesy than a sermon, for he said, turning on the platform where he stood and facing some of the high priests and elders sitting there: 'There are those among you who will betray me soon; in fact, you have plotted to deliver me up to the enemy to be slain.' The truth of this prophesy is history. He was betrayed, and by his own alleged best friends. These same fellows attempted to assume charge of the church at his death. They not only attempted this but they also attempted to introduce obnoxious teachings into the church. My nephew, the present Joseph Smith, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Lamoni, Iowa, is the true and only successor of Joseph Smith the martyr.

"I returned to my home that Saturday evening, and I shall never forget the parting with Joseph and Hyrum. That picture you hold in your hand shows how Joseph and Hyrum were dressed as they bade me goodby. Joseph took my hand tenderly in his, saying: 'Goodby, sister Catherine. When this trouble blows over, I will come down to Plymouth and make you a visit.' Hyrum said 'goodby' sim-

ply, but with a deeper feeling than I had ever known him to entertain. It was my farewell to them on this earth." Mother Salisbury says that the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith lie buried in the family burying lot near the Mansion house in Nauvoo.

"There was a price on Joseph's head and we concealed the bodies for a day and a night. Then we buried them near the old home. There is no secrecy about their resting place. When 'Aunt Emma' Smith, who later was Mrs. (Maj.) C. L. Bidamon, died, her six nephews buried her near the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum. The story that the bodies were taken to Salt Lake is without foundation."

I interviewed personally Elder S. J. Salisbury, spoken of fully elsewhere, who stated the following interesting facts:

"I was born in Kirtland, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1835. My mother's maiden name was Catherine Smith. She was a sister of the prophet, Joseph Smith, and was one of a family of nine children, namely: Alvin, Don, Hyrum, Joseph, Samuel, William, Sophronia, Catherine and Lucy, all of whom became members of the Mormon church. All believed that Joseph was a prophet and espoused the gospel that he taught and advocated. The church was organized in 1830. The family moved from New York to Kirtland, Ohio; from there to Missouri, and from Missouri to Illinois. Sophronia Smith McClarey remained in Illinois and died at Colchester, McDonough county, Illinois, about twenty years ago. Lucy Smith Milligan lived in Illinois for many years and also died at Colchester."

"Catherine Smith Salisbury lived and died in Hancock county. She came into the State in 1838 and remained here until her death. She married Wilkins J. Salisbury, a Mormon elder. Her family was composed of the following: Elizabeth, who died in infancy; Lucy, who died at Webster and is buried at Burlington, (she married a man by the name of Duke,) Solomon J., Alvin, Don C., Emma, who died in Missouri and is buried in the bottoms in Alexandria; Loren, who died in McDonough county; Frederick S., who is now living in Ft. Green township.

"Joseph Smith, the prophet, left three boys. Joseph F. Smith, the present president of the Brigham Young faction, is the son of Hyrum Smith. Catherine Smith Salisbury belonging to the branch of the church called the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ, of the Latter Day Saints, represented by Joseph Smith, son of the prophet, who is now president of the church located at Lamoni, Iowa. The Mormons numbered about 15,000 at the time of the emigration to Utah. The church was split up into many factions at the time of Joseph Smith's death. About 2,000 of them went west with Brigham. Blair, Briggs and Ginley still held aloof, waiting for Joseph to come out. They believed that Joseph would come out and take the place of his father and lead the church. They repeatedly interviewed him on the subject, but he took no part in the matter until the spring of '60, when he and his mother attended the assembly where the church was reorganized with a membership of 6,000 people. It bears relation with the church faction of Brigham Young. There is a faction called the Cutlerites who own the lots on which the temple stands.

HISTORIC MORMON LANDMARKS AT NAUVOO.

Top. (1) Joseph Smith's Riverside Mansion never completed. (2) Joseph Smith Homestead. Center. School House erected by the Icarians from rock from Mormon Temple. Bottom. (1) Nauvoo Opera House on Temple Block. (2) The Brigham Young House.

I called upon Hon. George Edmunds, one of the oldest settlers in the county and one of the oldest and ablest lawyers in Western Illinois. He was connected as attorney with much of the Mormon legislation. I asked him a number of questions about the Mormons. I quote the questions and his answers to them:

"What is your first recollection of Joseph and Hyrum Smith?"

"I never saw Hyrum Smith. I once saw Joseph Smith, about seventy years ago, when he was taking a party of his adherents from Palmyra, N. Y., to Kirtland, Ohio. That was the only time I ever saw him."

"Were either of them ambitious politically?"

"No doubt Joseph was. He aspired to be President of the United States, and was a candidate, I think, in '44, the year he was killed. I never heard of Hyrum's figuring politically, except in one instance, When Cyrus Walker, formerly of Macomb, was candidate for Congress, Joseph had promised to vote for Walker, but the Sunday before the election, at an immense meeting of the Mormons in Nauvoo, Hyrum got up before the congregation and announced that he had had a revelation, and that that revelation required the vote of the Mormon population to be thrown to the democratic candidate and against Walker, Joseph, thereupon, from the same stand, said that Hyrum was a good man and he no doubt had had the revelation he stated he had, but said that he personally had promised to vote for Walker, and that he would do so. The others were at liberty to do as they pleased. The result was that the entire vote of the Mormon population, except that of Joseph Smith and Kimball, was cast for the democratic candidate and against Walker. Joseph Smith and Kimball voted for Walker; and the democratic candidate was elected over Walker. This was one of the elements that brought about the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith."

"What part did they take and what influence did they exert in the political matters of Hancock county?"

"There is no question but that they controlled the political status of Hancock county from '42 up to the time of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's death, having a large majority of all the legal voters of the county under their control."

"Were Joseph or Hyrum, both or either of them, sincere in their political convictions, and did they use them to promote their other interests?"

"I can only speak in relation to that from what I gathered at the time I came here. My impression has always been that neither of them cared anything about either political party. They were ready to go to either, where they thought it would work to their advantage."

"I would like a brief, concise statement of the immediate cause leading up to the killing of the Smiths?"

"The impression that I have and have always had since I came here is that politics was largely at the base of the trouble. Had the Mormon population voted for Walker, as Walker supposed they would—he having Joseph's promise to vote for him—the trouble with the Mormons, in my judgment, would not have culminated when it did. There was that sort of feeling existing in the county between the

"THE HALL OF THE SEVENTY"

Mormons and the Gentiles, as they were called, that made it impossible for them to live in the same community in peace. The Mormons had determined to leave, and had sent a commission to Mexico to look up a place to locate, and that commission reported in favor of Salt Lake. Now the question arose how to get all the people out there with them. My belief is that many depredations were committed by Mormons, or under their influence, that created mobs in different parts of the county, whereby large colonies that had settled at Green Plains, in Walker township, Hancock county, were driven into Nauvoo, and another like party settled at Shake Rag and Ramus, now called Webster, and others that were scattered all over the north and west part of the county. All were driven into Nauvoo. I have never had a doubt that these matters were instigated for the purpose of forcing the Mormon population to consent to leave this county and go west."

"Give me your judgment of the justice or injustice of the driving of the Mormons out of Hancock county?"

"I can say for the Mormon population, so far as I knew them, that I think I never knew so industrious, frugal and virtuous a set of people as they were. There were among them a few people who were of the criminal class—for instance, Wm. Hickman, a man by the name of Bear, two Hodges, and perhaps others who belonged to the Mormon church, and when outsiders committed depredations and ran to Nauvoo they were no doubt protected by the population there. They had an organization called the "Danite Band," whose mode of dealing with men that they did not want was to "whittle" them out of town. That was done in this way: A dozen or more men would get together with long bowie knives and pine sticks, and whittle, always striking the knife towards the person they wanted to leave; and when they marched toward him, the man invariably left."

"I would like to have a few important events or incidents in relation to the Mormon period, which have not, to our knowledge, been published as yet?"

"There was a universal feeling in this county among the Gentile population that was very inimical to the Mormon population. I do not think that any Mormon could get a fair and impartial trial before a jury of the county selected from the anti-Mormon population. Neither do I believe a Mormon could get a fair trial anywhere in the circuit, which was composed of the counties of Hancock, Adams, McDonough, Schuyler, Henderson, Warren and Knox. It really, in my judgment, had become so thoroughly established by the acts on one side and the prejudice on the other, that it was not possible for the two elements to live in the same community, and it was wise for them to separate. Though the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith was a murder, it was done, beyond any question, by a respectable set of men—outside of these prejudices. While I believe that Backinstos, as sheriff of this county, endeavored to do his duty, yet it was nearly impossible for anyone to do so. One thing that occurred after Smith's death was that Backinstos, while sheriff, in calling out a posse of men to keep the peace of the county, incurred a bill of $15

with some lady in the vicinity of Warsaw. He presented the bill to the county court, then consisting of three Mormons, for allowance. It was allowed, and George Thatcher, then county clerk, refused to enter up the allowance; for which refusal he was removed from office, and I was appointed county clerk in his place. He was committed for fifteen days, I think, for contempt. From the order of his removal he appealed and took a writ of habeas corpus to the supreme court, then in session, to relieve him from the commitment. The supreme court, after going pretty thoroughly through the case, decided that the term of his imprisonment had expired, and he was released. That case, *ex parte* Thatcher, will be found in the 2d of Gilman. There are many cases that I might refer to in which I was interested as counsel for the Mormon population, that showed to my mind the state of feeling to be such that it was not possible for the two peoples to reside together in the same community."

The writer also interviewed Wm. R. Hamilton, perhaps the oldest settler in Hancock county, who is familiar with the Mormon history. His father kept the only hotel in Carthage during the entire period of the Mormon trouble, and in answer to what his recollection was about Joseph and Hyrum, he said: "I have seen both of them many times. Joseph and Hyrum both stopped in my father's house frequently, as well as all the other prominent men in the Mormon church, and while I was only a boy, I remember them well. My father also had practically the only conveyance between Carthage and Nauvoo, and I frequently drove parties from Carthage to Nauvoo, and was there a good many times. I have heard Joseph speak frequently. He was a very interesting and fascinating talker. I remember very well when the Governor came here prior to the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. He stopped at my father's house. Ford (the governor) was a weak, vacillating man, not beginning to be able to intellectually cope with Joseph Smith."

In answer to the question, "was either Joseph or Hyrum politically ambitious," he replied: "Joseph was. He wanted to be President of the United States, and everything else. It was their management of political affairs that brought about practically the entire trouble that ended in his death. When Cyrus Walker, of Macomb, was a candidate for Congress, he claimed to be for him, but for some unknown reason the entire vote went the other way, and this caused a great deal of ill feeling throughout the Military Tract. He undertook, and did practically control from '41 until his death, the political situation of Hancock county. I do not think that either Joseph or Hyrum cared anything about political parties, only so far as they could use them from time to time to promote their own interests. A large proportion of the Mormon men, especially the leaders, were selfish, and some of them worse than that."

In answer to the question, "State your best judgment of the immediate cause leading to the killing of the Smiths?" he said: "First, politics as I have referred to. Second, a number of men or bands of men directly or indirectly connected with the Mormons at Nauvoo made all kinds of raids throughout the county and adjoining counties

HYRUM AND JOSEPH SMITH.

JOSEPH SMITH
Founder of the Mormon Church

and stole all kinds of property. They were generally traced towards and sometimes to Nauvoo, and when warrants were issued for their arrests, they were in a mild way resisted or if arrested were released by the courts of Nauvoo on a writ of habeas corpus. No doubt there were men in other parts of the county, not connected with the Mormons at all, that did a great many things which caused the feeling only to reach higher. Excitement kept getting higher and higher. Every crime of every character which was committed was charged to the Mormons. Houses were burned and other depredations in different parts of the county, until small crowds of men practically forced the Mormons from the different parts of the county, to leave the local community and go to Nauvoo. When Josph and Hyrum were arrested and brought here as a result of the action of the city council in Nauvoo in relation to the "Expositor," excitement ran very high. The Governor came here personally, and in a speech he promised the people to protect them from any further outrages by the Mormons. One day, I remember, very shortly before, or on the day they were killed, he had Joseph and Hyrum brought from the jail and taken to the hotel. The soldiers, many of them and the population generally were lined up along the streets. Four or five times from the jail to the hotel the officers in charge stopped and introduced the prophet and Hyrum to the crowd.

This action, together with some others of a similar character that happened on that day, led many to believe that the Governor was really in sympathy with them. There is no doubt in my mind that the plan to kill the Smiths had been made a day or two before it was done, and while everybody in Carthage practically had disappeared, myself and another boy were told to go to the top of the court house and watch westward and see what we could see. We had been there but a short time when we saw a body of men coming from the west, bearing north. We went and told the parties what we had seen. They told us to go back and watch when they came out of the woods, if they came out. We did that, and very soon they came out of the woods north of Carthage and started for the jail. We watched awhile, but I was satisfied as to what was going to happen. We went to find the parties who had us watch, but they were not to be found. I then made for the jail and saw the prophet and Hyrum both shot. While there were guards around the jail, they were guards that did not guard, and, in fact, I think, understood the whole matter. I was the first one, I believe, to reach Joseph Smith after he was killed. The bodies were brought to my father's hotel, and afterwards taken to Nauvoo. I drove one of the rigs that took the bodies—I believe it was the body of Hyrum. Immediately after the killing of Joseph, all kinds of trouble began at Nauvoo. This ended in the final driving away of the entire crowd, except a small number who believed that Joseph's son should be the successor to his father. They remained here. At least they did not go with Brigham Young, and they are now known in this county as the 'Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.' No just criticism can be made of the acts of this branch of the church here."

Believing that pictures will as well and oftimes better represent actual conditions not made in history, I have submitted with my paper thirty-eight pictures all of which bear directly upon the Mormon history of Hancock county.

No. 1 is a view of Nauvoo from the center of the city looking southward, and gives a splendid outline of Nauvoo with the Mississippi river and Montrose, Ia., in the back ground.

No. 2 is a view of Nauvoo taken from the Catholic church steeple looking southwest towards the river, and is a very good picture of Nauvoo as it appeared but a few years ago.

No. 3 is a bird's eye view of Nauvoo taken from Bluff Park, Ia., and gives a most perfect view of the Nauvoo of today.

No. 4 is a winter scene on Mulholland street. The first house to the left, as shown in the picture, is the building in which the "Nauvoo Expositor" was published. The Expositor was issued June 7, 1844, and was the only issue of the paper. It contained a so-called exposure of Mormonism and the city council declared it a nuisance and it was destroyed by the order of the city council by the city marshal. This was one of the acts which superinduced a great deal of the feeling against the Mormons in the county.

No. 5 is a splendid view of the principal street of Nauvoo as it is today.

No. 6 is a picture of the first house built in Nauvoo in 1828 by Capt. James White, from whom the Mormons purchased most of the land on which Nauvoo is built.

No. 7 is the old White homestead near the village.

No. 8 is the old postoffice building, built of rock that came out of the temple.

No. 9 contains three small pictures: A, the only log house standing in Nauvoo; during the Mormon times it was the home of Howard Cory, private secretary to Joseph Smith, the prophet. B, is one of the thirty pilasters in the temple, each one costing $3,000. C, is the secret closet in the Joseph Smith mansion at Nauvoo.

No. 10 is a group of Mormon houses of notoriety in Nauvoo. A, is the residence of President Marks; B, Masonic temple; C, old home of Wilford Woodruff; D, home of Heber C. Kimball; E, residence of Wilson Law. These names will be readily recognized by every reader of Mormon history as very prominent characters in the history of Hancock county.

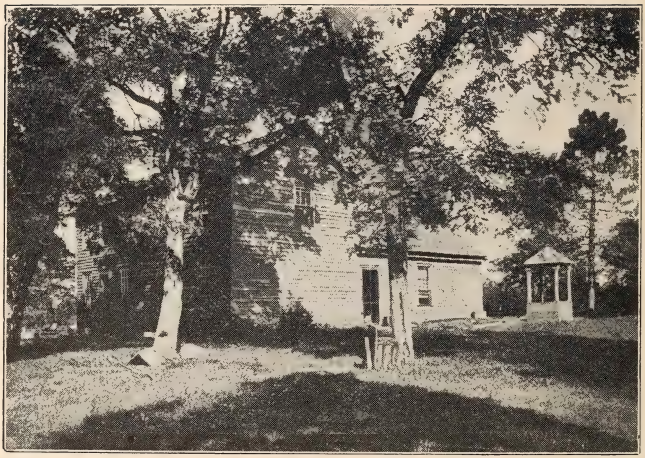
No. 11 is another group of landmarks at Nauvoo. A, Joseph Smith's riverside mansion, under construction at the time of his death and never completed; B, school house erected by the Icarians from Mormon temple rock.

No. 12 is a group of typical Mormon houses at Nauvoo. The top row are three houses owned by John Taylor; "The Nauvoo Neighbor" office at the right; the center picture is the leading hotel during Mormon times.

No. 13 is the old Mormon cemetery at Nauvoo.

No. 14 is the grave of Emma Smith Bidamon. She was the wife of the prophet, Joseph Smith, to whom she was married January 9,

THE OLD BRIGHAM YOUNG HOUSE
One of the interesting landmarks in Nauvoo.



THE JOSEPH SMITH RESIDENCE IN NAUVOO,
Now owned by Joseph Smith's Son, Joseph Smith, Jr., of Lamoni, Iowa.

1827. She afterwards married L. C. Bidamon, on December 27, 1847. They completed the riverside mansion, and conducted a hotel there for many years. She died April 30, 1879. Mr. Bidamon was not a member of the Mormon church. The grave of Emma Smith Bidamon, as shown in this picture, is on the premises of the old Smith homestead in Nauvoo. The remains of Joseph and Hyrum Smith lie buried in unmarked graves very near the grave of Emma Smith Bidamon.

No. 15 is a picture of the prophet, Joseph Smith, said by his relatives to be one of the best. He was born in Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, Dec. 23, 1805; killed at Carthage, Ill., while confined in the jail there, on June 27, 1844.

No. 16 shows the prophet, Joseph, and his brother, Hyrum, in full dress. The cut of this picture was taken from a photograph now in the possession of Solomon J. Salisbury, of Burnside, Hancock county, Ill., nephew of the deceased prophet. The picture was taken and given to Catherine Smith Salisbury and is said to be the most accurate photograph of the two men extant.

No. 17 is a picture of Hon. Wm. Smith, brother of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. He was active in Hancock county and was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1842. He was a man of a great deal more than ordinary ability.

No. 18 Catherine Smith Salisbury, sister of Joseph, Hyrum and William. We have referred to her and her family elsewhere in this paper.

No. 19 is the residence of the prophet Joseph Smith, in Nauvoo, and I am informed by men who have seen it personally, that it is a perfect picture.

No. 20 is a picture of the prophet's old homestead, erected very soon after their arrival at Nauvoo. It is now owned by the prophet's son, Joseph Smith, Jr., of Lamoni, Iowa, president of the Reorganized Church of the Latter Day Saints, and it is said and believed by many that he is an abler man than his father ever was. The writer has heard Joseph Smith, Jr., preach and has met him personally. He is a man of fine presence and a speaker of great force and earnestness.

No. 21 is taken from a painting said to have been made from a sketch taken at the time of the incident, and represents Joseph Smith, the prophet, talking to Pottawattamie chiefs on July 2d, 1843.

No. 22 is a picture of the first page of the "Nauvoo Neighbor," July 3, 1844, containing the account of the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

No. 23 is a picture of the old jail, as it appeared at the time Joseph and Hyrum were killed, June 27, 1844.

No. 24 is a perfect likeness of the celebrated Mansion house, containing the secret closet so often referred to in Mormon history.

No. 25 shows the door of the secret closet in the old Mansion house.

No. 26 shows the temple. The temple was built of light gray limestone, was 128 feet long, 88 feet broad, 65 feet high, and to the top of the tower was 165 feet. The cost of the building was about

$1,000,000. The baptismal fount, supported by two carved oxen, was in the basement story. The corner stone was laid April 6th, 1841, and the building was burned October 8-9, 1848.

No. 27 shows the present site of the once magnificent temple.

No. 28 shows the "Hall of the Seventy," around which much of the history of the Mormon church in Nauvoo centers.

No. 29 is one of the most interesting landmarks in Nauvoo, viz., the old Brigham Young homestead.

No. 30 is the picture of the home of Joseph Young, of Nauvoo, brother of Brigham Young.

No. 31 shows the first home of Brigham Young in Nauvoo.

No. 32 shows the residence of Elder John Taylor, together with the office of the "Times and Seasons."

No. 33 shows a street scene in Nauvoo with the house of Elder Snow at the left.

No 34 shows the home of Elder Heber C. Kimball. Possibly the finest residence in the city.

No. 35 is a picture of Solomon J. Salisbury and his wife, Margaret, and their grandson, Hulen Furrow. Solomon J. Salisbury is a son of Catherine Smith Salisbury, sister of Joseph Smith, the prophet. Elder Salisbury is now a resident and one of the honored and respected citizens of Hancock county. The writer interviewed him a few days since and a synopsis of the interview appears herein.

Mr. Salisbury is a successful farmer in Hancock county and has long been a resident thereof, as shown by this interview. The writer has many times heard him speak and preach. He is a man of more than ordinary ability and speaks with power and earnestness. His family are nearly all residents of Hancock county, and are numbered among its best people.

No. 36 shows Don C. Salisbury and wife. Don C. is a brother of Solomon J., just above referred to. He is also an elder in the church, a man of education and one of Hancock county's honored citizens. He has a family, practically all grown. Mr. Salisbury, himself, held a number of important offices and has always discharged them with credit to himself. His children are mostly settled in Hancock county.

His son is the present Surveyor of Hancock county.

No. 37 shows a picture of the Utah Mormon elders baptising a convert in the river at Nauvoo, October 3, 1905. It is the first Mormon baptism at Nauvoo since the expulsion in 1846.

No. 38 is a picture of the Elders and Saints of the Utah Mormon church in conference at Nauvoo, Ill., taken September 30, 1905, this being the first conference held by them there since 1846. The building just back of the group is the Joseph Smith mansion in Nauvoo.

THE MANSION HOUSE
With Secret Closet

THE MORMON TEMPLE AT NAUVOO.

## 8. THE ICARIAN COMMUNITY OF NAUVOO, ILLINOIS.

(By Mrs. I. G. Miller.)

On an eminence sloping down to and overlooking that river which has played so conspicuous a part in the history of our country, lies the little town of Nauvoo. It is not large in size or numbers, but is rich in historic events and picturesque in the extreme. An emerald set beside the clear and bubbling waters of the Mississippi, it is the ideal home of the idealist. This town, founded by the Mormons in 1839 and evacuated by them in 1846, subsequently became the home of the Icarian Community.

M. Etienne Cabet, born at Dijon, France, the son of a cooper, became, in the time of Louis Phillippe, one of the leading French jurists and ultimately Attorney General during the Second Republic. He was also a novelist of some note, having written, besides other books, the two entitled, respectively, "Voyage to Icaria" and "The True Christianity." Cabet, living through the horrors of internal revolution in France founded in the Icarian Community, a life based upon a novel written by Victor Hugo called "Icaria." He was not among the first of his people to land in this country, a number of his adherents had before him crossed the Atlantic and landed at New Orleans. Hearing of land that was to be bought cheap, they repaired to Texas and settled on the banks of the Red River, almost opposite Shreveport, Louisiana. Finding this climate injurious to their health, they again returned to New Orleans, where they were joined by Pére Cabet who appointed a committee of three to sail up the Mississippi river to select a site for their final settlement; he with his followers remaining in New Orleans until notified of the selection of the chosen land. The committee finally agreed to purchase about twelve acres of the Mormons' property. Oh! what a site for tired eyes to behold; eyes that had long sought for some peaceful place they might again call home!

On evacuating, the Mormons had tried to destroy their temple; a beautiful work of art three stories of which were built of massive stone, these being surmounted by a like number of wood. The fire only destroyed the latter which was soon reconstructed by the Icarians; but after they had made splendid progress, a terrible storm came up undoing their work and also laying waste to much of the stone masonry.

After this discouragement they determined to level what was left of the temple, using the stone thus taken to erect the required buildings. An immense structure was soon put up, the lower floor consisting of

one vast hall to be used for dining hall or auditorium. This dining room had a seating capacity of 1,200, each table accommodating ten people. To the northwest of this hall was the kitchen presided over by one male cook with a detail of four women; and so systematic had they become that the 1,200 diners could be served almost at the same time. Tracks were laid from the kitchen to the dining hall, whence cars ladened with victuals were easily distributed to the different tables. From an artistic standpoint this dining hall was a work of beauty and exquisite taste. Around the walls were pictures painted by one Bergeron, an artist of no mean merit, with here and there mottoes of the creed of the Icarians, chief of which was "Everybody do according to his capacity." The upper floor of this vast building contained living and bath rooms, the latter having both hot and cold running water. Besides this, the largest building in Icaria, a school house was erected suitable for the accommodation of the children.

The administration of this Community consisted of president, secretary, treasurer and seven directors or ministers. These officers were elected for one year by the members of the Community, females of eighteen and males of twenty-one being eligible to vote. Besides this body, they also elected their members to the General Assembly, a legislative body which met in session every Saturday evening. Pére Cabet, founder of the Community, was also its first president and held that office for many successive terms.

The application for admission into the Community must be accompanied by 300 francs. The applicant was then put on probation for three months, balloted upon by the members and, failing of election, his money was returned with his rejection. Besides the official directors, each line of work had its special director or foreman appointed monthly and being subordinate to the general director of work. Each man or woman could select the work desired, but need not remain at that work, changing at times to vary the monotony. If, by any chance, there was a shortage of hands in any certain line of work, the general director would announce it at meal time and ask for volunteers; and he never asked in vain. The bakery was, like the kitchen, presided over by a man, but his helpers were women. The men did all the hard work, the head of the laundry being a man, but his helpers, like those in the kitchen, were women. Although there were many families, there were, at one time, 106 bachelors. Think what the mending must have been for this number. Of course the women attended to this. After the laundry work and mending for the week were completed, each person's articles were put in the private box alloted for that purpose and the family washing returned to the receptacle placed for it.

The school was divided into two sections, one for boys and the other for girls. Each section contained dormitories, which were under the supervision of two women appointed by the school director. To a certain degree, the boys were taught by the men, while the girls had female instructors. In the higher classes, professors taught the sciences, astronomy, geometry, etc., to both sexes. If a child was in good health, it was started to school at the age of seven years and

ETIENNE CABET,
Founder of the Icarian Community.

kept there until adjudged competent, the judges being appointed by the assembly. The education was liberal in the extreme, French and English were taught and other languages, if such were desired; and so good was the school considered that, at one time, about twenty outsiders were sent there to receive their education. In case of sickness of a pupil, the mother was first notified, then the doctor, of whom the Community boasted two, both good physicians and surgeons.

All told there were about 1,800 Icarians during their sojourn at Nauvoo, but never more than 1,200 at one time. Most of the members were French, with a sprinkling of Germans and Americans, while Belgium, Spain and Italy were also represented. In religion they were also liberal, most of them being free thinkers; but joining a church was no bar to their membership, providing they broke no rules of the society. Children and adults had plenty of amusement, the children being provided with a large playground, while there was also plenty of space for the adults to practice their outdoor sports. The dining room could be emptied of its tables in about fifteen minutes leaving this vast hall free for whatever they wished to use it.

On Saturday evenings, the General Assembly met, when its members would discuss all matters pertaining to the Community or try what cases of misdemeanor had been enacted during the week Of civil cases they doubtless tried some; of criminal cases, none. There was no cause for theft, for every member stood on an equal footing and shared all benefits alike; and murder was never even thought of. Had there been any such cases the culprit would have immediately been turned over to the municipal authorities, for they never forgot that they were subjects of the United States, even raising the glorious "stars and stripes" from their flag staff.

Sunday was generally set aside for recreation. After dinner the vast auditorium was given over to the discussion of scientific or other subjects; sometimes to music, the Icarians having one of the finest orchestras in the west, numbering about fifty members.

During the early part of their sojourn in Nauvoo, conflicting and unauthentic reports went out to Washington concerning the Icarian Community. The President sent a general and his staff to Nauvoo, to investigate. The general's report was satisfactory. He was the guest of the Icarians for the better part of a week, and was particularly impressed with their music, which, he claimed, was unexcelled in the Union. On Sunday evening, in the winter time, the Community was generally regaled with some play; they had a stage in one end of the auditorium and also some actors of talent. After the theatre, adults and children indulged themselves in the terpsichorean amusement and I am told that there were none too old to dance.

All that could possibly be done for the welfare of the members, was done. For the sick there were hospitals, one for men and one for the women. Should the mother of a family be in the infirmary, those not in school were sent to the play room for juveniles, presided over by a woman, or women, of mature judgment, the father attending to them

at night. The "Icarian," a periodical printed in the community, was issued and circulated more for proselyting purposes than for the news it contained, even being sent to France, where from time to time, it won new members, particularly from the Communistic party.

Matters in the mother country had assumed a serious aspect for the working man. There was no work for the artisan and scarcely any hope for him who had passed his prime. On the accession of Napoleon III to the throne, those who were known to have embraced the communistic cause were arrested. Such an experience was the lot of my informant;* arrested without premonition, without even the shadow of a trial, transported to an African prison and there suffering tortures worse, if possible, than at Libby and Andersonville; this man of thrilling history escaped by jumping into the sea from whence he was rescued and pulled aboard ship by one of his compatriots. After a lapse of fifty-four days he landed in America, making straight for the Icarian Community, where he was readily accepted and eventually became secretary of the assembly. He landed in this country in 1854, fought in the Civil War, and has since been a worthy citizen of Springfield for more than a quarter of a century. If, then, the conditions for the laboring man were such, what wonder that some of the best artisans of France migrated?

Icaria represented those skilled in all workmanship; predominant among these were machinists, tailors and shoemakers. At one time the overproduction of goods by the two latter crafts was so great that a store was opened in St. Louis, Missouri, for the sale of clothes and shoes. Icaria produced its own flour, also its own lumber, having both flour mills and saw mills. Between Nauvoo, Illinois, and Fort Madison, Iowa, there are three Islands. From the nearest of these the Icarians cut their timber; in summer, they brought it by means of flat boats, of which they possessed two, and in winter the logs were transported over the ice to their saw mill on the river's bank. They had a cooper shop; a wagon factory, the excellence of which could be vouched for by many patrons in Keokuk, and a distillery producing twenty-four barrels of whiskey daily and from the distillery waste they sometimes fed as many as 1,000 hogs. Overproduction of all kinds was sold in Keokuk. They possessed cattle in plenty and their stables were stocked with forty oxen and about twenty head of horses. In dress there was no restriction as to style. They manufactured much of their cloth and bought some, and if the color and texture was alike it was so simply from economical motives. Garden truck they raised in plenty and, though their living was not luxurious, every man, woman and child could have a surfeit of food.

Early in the "fifties," the government offered land for sale in Iowa, near Council Bluffs. About forty-eight members of Icaria were sent there to pre-empt land which, of course, each man must take in his own name. In that way the Community acquired almost 8,000 acres of land. Once every month a large wagon load of provisions was sent overland, from Icaria, to its members in Iowa, the Community apparently foreseeing the day when its present quarters might become too cramped.

* Mr. Jules Cottet.

JULES COTTET,
of Springfield, Illinois, a member of the Icarian Community.

Like the Nauvoo of today the Community was skilled in the manufacture of wines; but, though making alcoholic liquors, they never encouraged their use nor that of tobacco. If a man so forgot himself as to become intoxicated, he was notified to appear before the General Assembly on the following Saturday, when he was well reprimanded for his fault. While life may have had its prosaic side, there was also romance in plenty, the sequel to which was an occasional wedding, M. Cabet deeming himself authorized under the law, as incorporator to perform the ceremony. Questions arising as to the validity of such marriages, all ceremonies thereafter were performed by justices of the peace, Justice Bauer, of Nauvoo, and others officiating. Weddings always took place on Sunday, when all members of the Community could take part in the jollification.

Into this Eden, after a lapse of time, came the serpent of discontent. Members must share, and share alike, in work and benefits; work never exceeding eight hours a day in the winter and often only six hours during the warm weather, the sick and aged being exempt. With the understanding of what was expected, an application to join the Community must be accompanied by 300 francs and what worldly goods the applicant possessed, all money going into one common fund. Though the Community was managed on the most economical basis, the maintenance being but $7\frac{1}{4}$ cents daily, per capita, including all expenditures, financially they were going slowly, but surely, to the wall. Coupled with this evident catastrophe, came the crowning fallacy of Pére Cabet's theory. He conceived the idea, and tried to convince others, that he, as founder of the Community, should be made Supreme Dictator for life; at the same time he opposed the sale of goods, manufactured or agricultural, claiming that commerce and intercourse with the outside world would spoil, in theory at least, Community life. To this, most of the members retorted that, though they had tried by every means to economize; though they worked and struggled, their debts, instead of diminishing, were on the increase; that it had been sufficiently demonstrated to them that his theory was impracticable; why, then, keep skilled workmen on the plane with common laborers when the productions of the former might, by establishing manufacturies for shoes, clothing etc., help to liquidate their indebtedness? They also tried to show him in a most respectful manner, that, unless something was done, inevitable doom stared them in the face. Their arguments, however, only angered him and made his opposition the stronger, the result of which was that, at the succeeding election, he was defeated for president. His disappointment at the turn affairs had taken, was so keen that he, with his minority of almost 200 souls, withdrew, going to Cheltenham, near St. Louis, in Missouri. He did not long survive his defeat, dying suddenly; his adherents disbanded to mingle again with the world at large. The Community property was soon after sold, to pay the indebtedness; many of the members went to join those already settled on the pre-empted land in Iowa; and today there exists but a small Community, numbering about forty members, engaged in the fruit growing industry in California.

# 9. THE REGULATORS AND FLATHEADS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

By James A. Rose.

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—When I was first informed that I had been selected to prepare for this society a paper dealing with the topic "The Flatheads and Regulators in Southern Illinois," I made up my mind that I would not be content with the preparation of a paper but would collect from every source possible all the data bearing upon this subject. I have therefore caused to be compiled every thing that could be found in the newspapers of that time, the Illinois Senate and House Journals, the acts of the Legislature, communications in the way of letters written by the Governor and executive orders of the Governor; and in addition to this I have obtained written statements from some of the older citizens giving their recollections of the cause and the result of the disturbance known as the war between the Flatheads and Regulators. I desire now to give credit to the following persons who have kindly furnished me with statements: General Green B. Raum, Mr. James E. Y. Hanna, Mrs. Cornelia P. Boazman and Professor E. W. Edmonson.

And thus I believe I have collected for future reference about all the data it is possible to gather on this subject. This matter I have caused to be typewritten and bound in convenient form, and take great pleasure in presenting it to the Historical Library of the State. This preserves for future historians all that seems possible at this time to obtain on the subject. Having placed the information where it is accessible to anyone who desires to consult it I shall make my paper a brief one. As these documents contain the names of many persons engaged in this struggle and as many of their descendants on both sides are still living, respected citizens in Southern Illinois, I shall in the main refrain from using the names of participants in the controversy, only making mention of a few incidents of crime and acts of the Regulators as samples.

I may here remark that the attempt to prevent and punish crime by means of regulating parties or societies has not been confined to Southern Illinois. At some time or other in the early settlement of different parts of the State it has become necessary, or, at least found expedient, for the law abiding citizens to band themselves together for the purpose of suppressing crime and exterminating criminals, and

the compilation, by a competent person of all the data bearing upon this topic would make a very interesting chapter of Illinois history.

In order to have a correct understanding of my topic it is well to remember that the southern part of the State was the first to be settled. The scene of the struggle between the so-called Regulators, or law abiding people, and the Flatheads or criminals, took place in that part of the territory bordering on the Ohio river, beginning at a point near Cave-in-rock, in Hardin county, and extending through the counties of Hardin, Pope and Massac to the Cache river. This territory was early settled by emigrants from Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. The great thoroughfare from this southeastern portion of the United States to the west crossed the Ohio river at Golconda, Illinois. Much of the territory comprising this section of country is hilly and at that time it was thickly timbered. Mammoth oaks, poplars, hickories, pecans and other trees were abundant. The hillsides abounded in springs of clear water. The forests were full of deer, wild turkey and other game; the Ohio river furnished fish. The bottoms, or low lands, were covered with a thick growth of cane and the hillsides with luxuriant grass. Acorns, hickory nuts and pecans were plentiful in the woods. The grass and cane afforded pasture for the cattle most of the year, the hogs being able to live and even fatten on the acorns and nuts. So emigrants from the southeastern portion of the country going westward, after crossing the Ohio river, found themselves in a country where a living could be had with little work and where above all, they were upon free soil, and many of them instead of prosecuting their journey westward settled down in this territory, not, however, on the best lands, but in nearly every instance on the poorest lands, their homes, as a rule, being made on hillsides near springs of clear water.

Again a great many emigrants came down the Ohio river on flat boats or keel boats and were enraptured with this country of beautiful vine-clad hills and stopped and entered government land and remained. So it was that this country was thickly settled when the greater portion of the State was almost uninhabited.

Most of the people were good, law-abiding citizens—poor persons who had become dissatisfied with the existing order of things in the old slave states from which they came. They were not over energetic, nor were they avaricious. They cared very little for more wealth than was necessary to maintain them in comfort in their humble homes. But with them had come a small percentage of persons who had been compelled to leave their old homes in the southern and eastern states because of crime and their tendency to break the laws was not lessened by reason of their exile from their former homes.

As early as 1831 I find it recorded that a man by the name of Sturdevant located in the upper part of Pope county, now a part of Hardin county, and built a blockhouse and fort and entered upon the busines of counterfeiting. It is said he was a man of genial manners and exceedingly charitable. He had a number of followers with him and for a number of months he and all his companions seemed to be good, law-abiding citizens. It, however, soon developed that he was

making counterfeit bank notes; that he was giving them to his followers who went into adjoining states and distant parts of this State and were engaged in the passing of the money made by Sturdevant. It was found that he was receiving $16 in good money for each $100 of counterfeit bank notes that his confederates put in circulation. So well did he succeed in other parts that he soon allowed some of his followers to pass some of the money in the immediate neighborhood. Some of his retainers were arrested and tried, but in every instance they were able to have some one on the jury who would succeed in convincing the other members of the jury of the defendant's innocence, or in securing a mis-trial. Acquittals and mis-trials continued until the people became exasperated and an organization of prominent citizens was formed, composed of such men as Joseph Pryor, Dr. Wm. Sim, Rev. Wm. Rondeau, Hugh McNulty, Major John Raum, who, with a large body of followers, armed themselves and descended on the Sturdevant stronghold only to find that their movements had been spied upon and that they were expected. A number of shots were exchanged; tradition says that three counterfeiters were killed, but 1 can not verify it, and finally a charge was made on the stockade and the door broken down. They found, however, that a small piece of artillery was trained on the stairway leading to the Sturdevant stronghold, and a halt was called and reinforcements asked for. During the night Sturdevant and his band of criminals managed to make their escape and were never afterwards heard of in that section of the country. This is one of the earliest records of the citizens of this region taking the law into their own hands.

For a time peace and quiet reigned throughout this section of the country, but soon other depredations began. From time to time a great number of horses were stolen and in nearly every instance it was impossible to trace the theft. Usually the horses were found in the possession of some person moving through the country on his way westward. He would be able to prove the purchase of the horse from some one while passing through this section of the country but would not be able to name or identify the seller. Again the country was flooded with counterfeit bank notes and silver coin. A great deal of it was passed by citizens living along the route of this thoroughfare leading from the ferry westward, and when they were detected their excuse always was that they had received it from some mover passing through the country in exchange for butter, eggs, meat or corn. The fact however became thoroughly impressed on the citizens that many of these persons while maintaining respectability in the neighborhood were connected with a gang of counterfeiters. Whenever any of the prominent, law-abiding citizens let drop any intimation that they suspected persons being connected either with horse stealing or counterfeiting it was not unusual for them to be visited with the burning of their houses or barns, and in a few instances, with either assassination or attempted assassination; and, as before in the Sturdevant matter, whenever arrests were made it was always found that the lawless element in some way or other, either through the chosen officers of the law or by packing the juries succeeded in getting free. Not only were

thefts, arson and counterfeiting indulged in during the time intervening from 1831 to about 1838, but another species of crime became somewhat prevalent. A number of people from the south brought in their slaves and manumitted them; purchased homes for them. In some instances the younger members of these colored families were kidnapped and spirited away and sold in the south. In one instance the people took the matter in hand and spent considerable money and time in running the matter down and found the children had been captured, slipped through the country to St. Louis, taken to the regular slave market and sold. In this instance it so happened that a former respectable citizen of Pope county, by the name of Vaughn, had purchased them at the auction sale and then sold them to a southern planter. There was no doubt in the minds of the people that he not only knew of the theft of the children, but that he actually knew the children, that it was he who planned not only this outrage but others of a like nature as well as several robberies in the county. Several arrests were made and the matter was brought before the grand jury. Vaughn was summoned before the grand jury but refused to testify. Later on he confessed to the grand jury that he had purchased the children in the open market at St. Louis, but they had been delivered to him by Joshua Handly, Peyton Gordon, Caleb Slankard and John Simpkins of Pope county, and Joe Lynn and Hiram Campbell, of Massac county. This proved conclusively that Vaughn, at least, must have known that the children had been kidnapped. All of the parties were indicted. Within ten days from this time Vaughn was dead, dying as it was supposed, of apoplexy; but strange to say, as tradition has it, the apoplexy came on immediately after taking a drink of whiskey given him by one of the parties who had been indicted with him. As the confession of Vaughn was the only evidence against the other parties they had to be discharged from custody.

A short time after the death of Vaughn, a man by the name of Henry Sides, with his wife, moved into Pope county and settled some miles northwest of Golconda, freed a number of slaves, bought a farm and worked side by side with them. Soon after this another man named Dabbs came from Tennessee with his slaves and set them free, left enough for their immediate wants and returned to Tennessee where he died, leaving all his estate to his former slaves and making Mr. Sides his executor. The money from the estate, amounting to $2,000, was shipped to Mr. Sides in two boxes, each containing $1,000 in silver half dollars. There being no bank in Golconda, he hauled the money home and put it in the loft in a bag of seed cotton. In July, 1846, a gang headed by Hite Green visited the residence of Mr. Sides, knocked him and his wife, on the head, stole the money, set fire to the house and fled. Shortly after they left a heavy rainstorm came up and extinguished the fire. Dr. Wm. Sim was in the neighborhood and in some way was informed of the affair. Visiting the house, he found it splashed with blood and the old people insensible. Though mangled, bleeding and all but dead, they were finally revived and told the story of the outrage. The crime excited the people to something

like madness. For days a search was kept up, in and around the house. Only a button and knife were found. These were traced to the owner and the guilty parties thus made known. Some proved to be friends and neighbors of the victim. Hiram Green, the leader, was the son of an old and respected citizen. The knife had been made by a local blacksmith for one Ned Hazel, who, when arrested proved that he had disposed of the knife to Dan Hazel. Dan Hazel was then arrested and put in jail, but he refused to say anything about the matter.

At this time the organization called the Regulators was formed. Their object in the beginning was not to visit punishment themselves upon the culprits, but to see that the laws were executed through the courts. With this end in view, in order that no one might escape on straw bonds, the committee notified the sheriff that he was to take no bonds from anyone charged with the crime on the Sides family. This committee was composed of such men as Dr. Wm. Sim, a prominent physician of that time and afterwards a member of the Legislature for several terms; Judge Wesley Sloan, for years a leader in the Legislature and the author of Illinois' first free school law, and latterly a judge for eighteen years on the circuit bench; William Finney, the sheriff, James McCoy, Thomas Campbell, John Raum, father of General Green B. Raum;—and others. Such men as these formed the inner circle or ruling council of the Regulators. Hundreds of others were enrolled in the cause simply to execute the orders issued by the main council.

The meetings of the council or managers were all secret, and at first no arrests were made until orders were given to make them. This council ordered the arrest of some eight or nine persons alleged to be connected with the attempted murder and robbery of the Sides family. These arrests were made in the regular way and while the sheriff nominally had charge of the prisoners, the Regulators, as a matter of fact, were in control. Whenever they wanted one of the prisoners out of the jail they sent a guard and took him out for the purpose of examination. None of the prisoners were allowed to fill bonds, and the sheriff was ordered to keep them, as far as possible, entirely separated from each other. The prisoners all agreed that if a special term of court was called and indictments returned that they would enter a plea of guilty. But when the court was called and the grand jury impaneled, some of the prisoners who had agreed to make a clean breast of it before the grand jury, refused to testify. Finally Ahab Farmer, a young man of about 19 years of age, whose father and brothers were respected and honest citizens, accepted the terms given by the committee, which was immunity from further punishment. He testified before the grand jury. A bill was returned and the next day, instead of entering a plea of guilty as agreed, the accused pleaded not guilty and the court granted a change of venue to Johnson county. This was where the prisoners expected to go and they hoped to be liberated by their friends when put in the Johnson county jail. But in this they were disappointed. The council ordered it otherwise and kept them in the Golconda jail, and every night a guard of

Regulators numbering from fifteen to thirty stood guard around the jail. The Flatheads sent spies to the town to watch the guard and it turned out that reports were made every morning to the headquarters of the Flatheads of just what had occurred in the county seat the night before. The Regulators had spies in the camp of the Flatheads also; and it was learned through them that the Flatheads contemplated a raid on the town, their plan being to set fire to the town in many places at the same time and in the confusion incident to the fires the jail was to be broken open and the prisoners released.

Some arrests were made by the Regulators of the persons who were engaged in this conspiracy. Others were notified to leave the country; others were taken out by the Regulators and whipped. One of the county commissioners, a George Vanduser, showed some little sympathy with the prisoners. He was at once notified by the Regulators that it would be best for him to resign and in some way proper persuasion was brought to bear upon him and his resignation was handed in.

In some way or other the Regulators impressed it upon those suspected of the Sides outrage that the taking of the money was the gist of the whole affair, and the prisoners after consulting among themselves concluded that, if the money was returned, the Regulators would let up on the prosecution. So one of the prisoners, Hite Green, was selected to go with a company of Regulators to look for the money. It was his hope that he would be rescued by his friends. Such, however, was not the case because he was too heavily guarded by the Regulators to admit of any successful effort at rescue. He waded out into a swamp, brought the money out and turned it over to the Regulators but instead of this appeasing these stern administrators of justice, it only put into their hands, in addition to the confession of young Farmer, the absolute proof of the guilt of the entire party.

It was learned that an effort was to be made to rescue the prisoners on the over-land trip from Golconda to Vienna, the county seat of Johnson county. An army of more than a hundred Regulators, on horseback, marched the entire distance surrounding the prisoners who were heavily chained in wagons. The trial resulted in the conviction of six of the prisoners implicated. Four of them died in the penitentiary.

During the occurrence of these and other stirring events between the Flatheads and Regulators, the Legislature in 1843 erected a new county known as Massac, taking territory from both Pope and Johnson and thus creating a county full of the troubles already existing in the counties of Johnson and Pope. It has been said that the Flatheads were largely instrumental in having this new county of Massac formed in order that they might be freed from the domination of the regulating influence so prevalent in Johnson and Pope counties. Immediately both sides prepared for the political struggle in this new territory. The Regulators, following the example that had been set them in the older counties, formed themselves into companies with captains and leaders, and the Flatheads, likewise, had their organization. The

election resulted in the choice of some of the Flatheads to important offices. It is alleged that the sheriff of the county was a Flathead, or in sympathy with them, and that the county clerk was also a Flathead. The Representative in the Legislature, Mr. Enloe, rested under the same charge, and in fact a letter from Mr. Enloe, Representative in the Legislature, to the State Register, which is to be found in the collection I have filed with the library, tends to substantiate that fact. But the fact that these gentlemen rested under the imputation of being Flatheads does not of necessity imply that they were not good citizens. The conflict between the two factions had already reached the stage where all good men were not Regulators and all bad men were not Flatheads. A point had been reached which is always reached in such movements where bad men were taking advantage of the so called law and order movement to vent their spleen on their enemies and to use the cloak of morality for illegitimate gain.

The cruelties perpetrated by some of the so-called Regulators were such that many good men had begun to revolt. It was a daily occurrence at this time for men under the charge of being Flatheads to be taken out and unmercifully beaten or tortured. Men were strapped across logs and their bare backs beaten to a pulp with hickory withes Some were tied to trees with weights hung to their arms and compelled to stand until their tongues protruded from their mouths.

The process of regulating had reached that frenzied point where it became dangerous for any citizen to express sympathy for anybody against whom the slighest imputation of being a Flathead had been lodged. Fathers who attempted to deny or disprove the charge of "Flathead" against their sons were ind anger of being driven from the county or summarily treated.

Just prior to the election of county officers in 1846, it is said, that 150 families were notified by the Regulators to leave the county or suffer the consequences, and that just before the election a false charge of counterfeiting was lodged against Mr. Read who was a candidate for re-election as sheriff. It is not therefore to be wondered at that many good citizens, while not in sympathy with anything in the way of counterfeiting or horse-stealing or crime in any form, should revolt against the criminal persecution of innocent people. Perhaps no section of the country has undergone a greater reign of terror than that found in Massac county from about 1843 to about 1850. Mr. Read, after his election to the sheriff's office in 1846, was compelled to leave the country and he spent the winter at the State Capital, not daring to go back into the county in which he had just been re-elected sheriff. There is now in existence in the office of the Secretary of State an order issued by Governor Ford declaring the office of sheriff vacant, for failure to qualify on the part of Read, and ordering an election. This order is dated September 12, 1846, the election being held in August 1846. Across this order, written in pencil, is the word "countermanded". Read afterwards qualified and served out his term of sheriff, and the Legislature in 1847, passed an act extending the time for him to collect the taxes in the county.

At the fall term of the Massac circuit court, Judge Scates delivered a strong charge to the grand jury against the lawless proceedings of the Regulators. Quite a number of indictments were returned against Regulators, they were arrested by the sheriff, and immediately thereafter Regulators from Kentucky and neighboring counties in Illinois assembled in force and threatened to lynch Judge Scates if he ever returned to hold court in Massac county; and the grand jury and the witnesses who testified before them were ordered to leave the country under pain of punishment. The records show that Judge Scates resigned January 11, 1847. Strange to say, notwithstanding this procedure on the part of the so-called Regulators, the moderate men were afraid to join the sheriff when summoned to protect the jail and the court; but there did volunteer sixty or seventy men, most of whom were known to be notorious rogues and undoubted Flatheads. The Regulators, originally formed to uphold the law and strengthen the hands of the courts, found the courts at last arrayed against them and the rogues and Flatheads joining hands with the legally constituted authorities for the suppression of the lawless acts of these self-constituted guardians of the law and of the public welfare. The original motives of the Regulators were good and their methods the best at their command. By this time their motives were not above suspicion and their methods indefensible, and it was hard to determine from time to time which side was the side of the good citizen.

The band of Regulators convened as above stated and marched in force several hundred strong against the sheriff and his party with a view to releasing the Regulators who were prisoners in the custody of the sheriff, but before violence was used on either side a parley was entered into in which the sheriff's party promised to give up the prisoners under promise of exemption from violence The Regulators liberated their friends aud carried several of the sheriff's posse with them as prisoners, murdering some of them by drowning them in the Ohio river. The sheriff and his friends, after formal notification to leave, were driven out of the county. The sheriff, the representative elect, Mr. Enloe, and another gentleman proceeded to see Gov. Ford, who was at Nauvoo with a military force endeavoring to reinstate the exiled citizens of Hancock county. He was asked to send a military force to Massac, but as he was within twenty days of the end of his term he was loath to begin measures he thought might not be approved by his successor. He felt certain that it would be useless to order the militia to go to Massac to protect the horse-thieves. He also knew that the militia could not be raised for that purpose. He issued an order to Dr. Wm. I. Gibbs, of Johnson county, authorizing him to call upon the militia officers of some of the neighboring counties for a force to protect the sheriff and other county officers, the magistrates, the grand jury and the witnesses before them, and the honest part of the community.

Dr. Gibbs went to Massac county, and on Wednesday, November 11, 1846, he called a meeting at the Metropolis House, in Metropolis City, when on motion of Richard S. Nelson, Dr. W. I. Gibbs was elected chairman and John B. Hicks, secretary. On the suggestion

of the chairman a resolution was introduced that five justices of the peace to be selected by the chair from the five counties named in the order of the Governor, should meet at the Metropolis House, whose duty it should be to hear and determine upon any charge of a criminal character that might be preferred against any citizen of Massac county; and, on motion, the 21st day of November, 1846, was set as the day when the witnesses should appear before the justices of the peace named by Dr. Gibbs. The Regulators failed to appear before the justices of the peace, whereupon Dr. Gibbs adjudged there were no rogues in Massac county and that all were entitled to protection against the Regulators. He called out the militia of Union and other counties, but the militia refused to turn out for the protection of rogues. The Regulators were left undisputed masters of the county. They now proceeded to arrest a number of suspected persons and tried them before a committee. Some were acquitted, others convicted and were whipped or were tarred and feathered. The number implicated in counterfeiting increased. Many persons, before considered honest men, were now implicated, which increased the excitement. Many who were formerly in favor of the Regulators now left them and disapproved of their conduct. Thus the attempt on the part of Governor Ford seems to have increased rather than to have diminished the trouble.

As a sample of some of the atrocities committed I will relate the following incident: The Regulators attempted to compel a man by the name of Mathis to tell of the guilt of certain suspected persons in his neighborhood. Upon his refusal to do so they attempted to arrest him without a warrant; he and his wife resisted. She was a strong woman and knocked two or three down with her fists when a gun was presented to her breast and she was told her heart would be shot out if she resisted: She caught the gun and shoved it down when it was discharged and she was shot through the thigh. The Regulators claimed the shot was accidental. The old lady got out warrants for the perpetrators of the crime and they were arrested by the authorities and taken to the Metropolis House and placed under a guard, while search was made for old man Mathis who could not be found. The news of the arrests went all over the county and it was rumored the Flatheads intended to put the suspects to death in case they were not convicted. A large force of Regulators went to Metropolis to release the prisoners, but they found the sheriff with a party about as strong as their own. A compromise was made by the unconditional release of the prisoners. After securing their friends, the Regulators arrested several members of the sheriff's guard and turned them over to their Kentucky allies to deal with as they saw fit.

On December 23, 1846 a convention of regulators composed of five delegates each from Pope, Johnson and Massac counties met at Golconda, in secret session, and ordered the sheriff of Massac county, the clerk of the county court and many other citizens to leave the country within thirty days. The sheriff and many others left the country many of them coming to Springfield and appeared before the Legislature asking for relief.

Descriptions of some of these events may be found in the Paducah papers, New Orleans Picayune, Louisville Journal, New York papers, Saturday Evening Post and Saturday Courier of Philadelphia, St. Louis Republican and other papers, extracts from which can be found in the bound volume heretofore referred to as being filed by me in the Historical Library.

The Legislature which met December 7, 1846, took cognizance of the matter by instructing the Judiciary Committee to examine the existing laws and report such amendments as might be necessary in relation to the power of the Governor to quell riots, etc. Immediately on the inauguration of Governor French he communicated with Dr. William I. Gibbs, of whom I have heretofore made mention as being appointed by Governor Ford to look into the matter, in the following language:

December 26, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—I am just informed by a letter from Governor Ford that you had received some orders from him in relation to the difficulties in Massac county, He informs me that by your report and the published proceedings, which took place while under his orders, you failed to discover who the notorious rogues and horse thieves were against whom the people had become exasperated. That from the fact that the "Regulators" refused to appear and point these characters out, you thereby inferred that none such existed in your county and have formed your course accordingly. This he regards as founded in error. You will therefore suspend any further action in the matter under his orders until further advised from me in regard to the matter. In the meantime I will be pleased with any suggestions from you touching this unpleasant difficulty.

AUGUSTUS C. FRENCH,
*Commander in Chief, Illinois Militia.*

On the same day the Governor wrote to Captain Akin, of Benton, Franklin county, requesting him to go to Massac to make an investigation, and cautioned him to be prudent and observe an impartial position between the parties. He went to Massac county, accompanied by A. D. Duff, who afterwards became one of the leading jurists of the country, and Samuel K. Casey. The three made a report to the Governor, and they concluded their report in the following language:

"From the best information we could learn there are but few responsible men who take an open part in favor of the "Regulators" at this time, but there are some influential men behind the curtain, and stimulating others to act; some very abandoned, and some very honest men, who are acting with the best intentions; and the same may be said of the Flatheads. Of this, however, we feel confident that a large majority of the people of that county are sick and tired of the difficulties, and are anxious to see them at an end. If allowed to continue no good citizen can remain in the county."

From the journals of the Legislature of that session it seems that some part of almost every day was taken up with the discussion of bills for the relief of the trouble in Massac county. A number of citizens appeared before the Judiciary Committee, a number of interesting speeches were made by Mr. Stickney, Mr. Tappan, of Macoupin; Mr. Eddy, of Gallatin; Mr. Marshall, of Hamilton, latterly for many years an honored representative in Congress; Mr. Underwood, of St. Clair, and Mr. Hicks, of Gallatin, of the House, and Senators McRoberts, of Vermilion, and Davis, of Massac.

On January 11, 1847, by resolution of the House, the Governor was requested to transmit any late news in relation to the Massac difficulties, and in answer thereto he submitted the letter received from Captain Akin, heretofore referred to. Nothing definite, however, was done by the Legislature. Just how far the influence of politics went in the matter I am unable to say; but that the people in some portions of the State became exasperated by legislative delay is evinced by a resolution passed at a mass convention at Benton, Franklin county, January 26th, 1847, which is as follows:

"WHEREAS, The unfortunate difficulties in Massac county continue unabated; the party called "Regulators," not only killing, whipping and torturing, in every way possible, men, but are engaged in tearing down houses, over the head of defenceless women and children, turning them adrift in the inclemency of the weather, unprotected; insulting and abusing them; trampling under their feet all law and order, and the dearest and best rights of American citizens; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, that we have lost all confidence in the Legislature passing any law to restore order, and punish the guilty, and secure the innocent in the enjoyment of their rights as American citizens.

*Resolved*, that if the Legislature is disposed to spend weeks in making "buncomb" speeches, while the cries of innocent women and children fill the air with their lamentations of distress,

*Resolved*, that in the absence of any action in the Legislative department, we call upon the Executive of Illinois to take the 'responsibility,' and with any necessary force put down the insurrection, punish the guilty, and protect the interest of the innocent; and that he be earnestly requested to act immediately and promptly.

*Resolved*, that as lovers of justice, humanity, and the maintenance of the supremacy of the laws, we cannot longer look on with indifference, while such scenes of violence are being perpetrated, and unless the proper authorities act, and act promptly and efficiently, we believe it our duty to take the responsibility into our hands, and save innocent women and children harmless in the enjoyment of their homes, let consequences be what they may.

*Resolved*, that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Governor of the State, and a copy to the editor of the State Register for publication.

When on motion the meeting adjourned."

W. R. BROWNING,
*Chairman.*
W. S. AKIN,
*Secretary.*"

The foregoing resolution was submitted to the Legislature and laid on the table.

Finally the Legislature passed an act establishing a district court in the State of Illinois. The act provided that the court have jurisdiction in all criminal cases; that the Governor, when he is satisfied that it is essential to preserve law and order shall give notice in writing to the district judge to call such court within 30 days after such notice; that it shall be the duty of the judge to issue a precept to each of the sheriffs of the counties in the district to summon from each of the counties a fair proportion to be fixed by the judge of grand and petit jurors; that the prosecuting attorney of the district shall act as prosecutor; that the judge shall have power to appoint a prosecuting attorney *pro tem*, or assistant attorney, a marshal, who shall perform the duties required of sheriffs, and a clerk of the court. Process to be issued to the marshal and executed by him or by all sheriffs and constables. This bill was approved February 20, 1847

On March 27th, 1847, Governor French issued his proclamation directed to Judge Wm. A. Denning, requiring him to hold a term of the district court for the trial of such persons as might be brought before it on a charge of aiding or being connected with any unlawful association in the county of Massac styling themselves Regulators. He wrote the Judge a strong letter of instructions, winding up by saying, "Almost everything depends upon the coolness, firmness and steady energy of this officer (the marshal) to sustain his ground at all hazards let the consequence be what it may. Keep me advised. Should any additional arms be necessary let me know and I will give orders that they await your demand at Alton." George W. Akin was appointed marshal of the district, T. B. Cantrall, clerk of the district court, and S. K. Casey, assistant prosecuting attorney of the district court.

The court provided for in the act of the Legislature was called to meet at Benton, Franklin county, on Thursday, April 22, 1847. The balance of the week was taken up in the taking of bail. On Monday of the second week of court, Judge Walter B. Scates, who had resigned from the circuit bench, and Hon. John A. McClernand, argued a plea to the jurisdiction of the court, taking the ground that the court could not hear the cases on account of the fact that the offences, if committed at all, had been committed in the county of Massac. After a nine days' session taken up in the arguing of motions, etc., the court adjourned until May 24th. The only record that can be found that there was ever any further holding of the court is the rendering of an expense account by the officers of the court. So far as I have been able to find there is no record in existence of any trial or conviction or acquittal, or in fact any record of the court at all.

Law breaking continued to be prevalent on both sides. Lynchings in the way of whipping, ducking and compelling people to leave the country were continued, and instead of the provisional court improving the situation it seems to have had the opposite effect.

At the session of the Legislature, which met in December, 1848, and continued during the winter of 1848 and 1849, an amendment was made to the act for the suppression of riots. This session of the Legislature, the records show, also called for information from Governor French, all of which appears fully in the papers filed with the Historical Society.

At the election of August, 1849, John W. Read was re-elected sheriff of Massac by a large majority. The Daily Journal of Springfield, dated August 7th, 1849, in speaking of affairs in Massac county, says: "There is a perfect lawless state of things existing at Massac in this State. About two weeks ago in an encounter between the Flatheads and Regulators two of the former, Samuel Taylor and Robert Canada, were killed, and Daniel Ensloe, son of a former representative, wounded. Clinton King, on the side of the Regulators, was killed, and two others wounded, one dangerously. Both parties were well armed. Affairs are represented as proceeding from bad to worse; constantly. One of the parties will have to leave the country."

On August 8th, the Journal says: "The feud between the Regulators and the Flatheads has been renewed in Massac county. The

Cairo Delta says that the Metropolis and its vicinity has been the scene of a high state of excitement for two weeks past. A barn owned by a Mr. Tolson was burned. A quarrel ensued between the two parties, in which three persons were killed and a number wounded." A complete description, in detail, of this battle between the Flatheads and Regulators will be found in the papers filed by me in the Historical Library, and I will not take up time by reading it, except to say that the evidence shows that there were about sixty Flatheads and eighty Regulators participating in the affray.

The success of the people in favor of moderation had apparently again emboldened the criminals of the county, and the Flatheads had gathered in large numbers for the purpose of getting hold of two men by the name of Backus and Shelby; and the Regulators, reinforced by a large number of citizens of Pope and Johnson counties and from Paducah, Ky., went to the rescue of Shelby and Backus and this, it seems, was the immediate cause of the battle.

The Sangamo Journal on August 24th, says, editorially: "The state of affairs in Massac county is most disheartening. Something should be promptly done there to secure life, liberty and property in that region."

The Governor, by his proclamation, called a special session of the Legislature to meet on October 22, 1849. The proclamation will be found set out at large in the papers filed. In this proclamation convening the extra session the Governor says: "The executive has been called upon to arrest these outrages by the employment of military force, the existing laws being clearly inadequate," but he says in effect that he was thereby driven to the alternative of either sending a military force into that county involving the necessity of keeping it there an indefinite time, or of referring the matter to the General Assembly for the enactment of such laws as the emergency might require. Again in the message, he says: "I have no hesitation in declaring my preference for a special session for this purpose alone, to the employment of military force, except in the last resort."

The Governor's message in regard to the Massac difficulties was referred to the Judiciary Committee, composed of Yates, Bond, Linder, Bradley, Crandell, Dearborn, Guthrie, Keating, Page, Pattison, Smith, Waller, Walker, Carlin and Haven; several of these names have become almost household words in this State.

On October 26th, a resolution was offered to lay before the Legislature all the information in the Governor's possession concerning conditions in Massac county. In answer to which resolution the Governor transmitted a message together with the *ex parte* affidavits of John W. Read, sheriff; David Leach, clerk; John McDonald, Reuben King, Samuel Mussellman, justice of the peace; Wm. W. Clark, constable of Massac county; setting forth the facts that it was impossible to enforce the laws or the process of the court. Also a report from Francis M. Rawlings, States Attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit. On October 30th, a bill was reported extending the jurisdiction of the circuit courts, which was rapidly passed through both houses of the Legislature and on November 3rd was approved by Governor French.

The convening of the Legislature and the passage of the act extending the jurisdiction of the circuit courts and the evident intent manifested by the Legislature and the Governor to enforce the law seems to have had a very salutary effect and lawlessness gradually subsided. By the close of 1850 peace and quiet reigned not only in Massac county, but in the other counties which had been affected by the contest

During the years in which the struggle between the Flatheads and the Regulators continued it is impossible to determine how many persons were killed either in open fights or by assassination, how many persons were driven out of the country, or how many hundreds had been whipped or maltreated. But, strange to say, when the end came it came most suddenly; and, while both sides before that time had grown into a condition of being willing at any time to resist the process of the courts, almost with one accord the entire mass of people acquiesced and assisted in upholding the laws of the State. And from the close of the Regulator-Flathead struggle there has been no more law-abiding people to be found anywhere than in the counties of Massac, Pope, Johnson and Hardin. Mob law has never been heard of since. There is, perhaps, as small a number of crimes committed in proportion to the population as in any other portion of the United States, and the statistics show that when the life of the Nation was imperilled by the rebellion of the southern states these counties furnished a larger number of volunteer troops in proportion to inhabitants than any other section of the State.

While for years there still lingered a prejudice in the minds of some against those who had been identified with the Flatheads, yet that feeling has entirely passed away. Some of the best citizens of this part of the State are descendants of persons who were actually engaged in what was known as the Flathead side of the conflict.

In closing permit me to say that I realize that this paper is of necessity somewhat disjointed in its statements. This occurs very largely from the fact that from the records to be obtained it is impossible to give anything like a continuous, connected account of the affair.

I again desire to extend my thanks to the parties named in the first part of this address for the information they have given me, and also to accord to my private secretary, Mr. Theo. S. McCoy, a large measure of praise for his efforts in collecting what I believe to be all the data to be found on this subject."

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NOTE—I do not hold myself responsible for the accuracy of any dates given in the foregoing paper except such dates as are taken from public records, as in many instances the recollections of different persons even as to years in which some events occurred are at variance.—
JAMES A. ROSE.

# THE REJECTED ILLINOIS COUNTY NAMES.

(William D. Barge.)

## Introductory.

This attempt to bring together all the names unsuccessfully proposed for our counties is merely an effort to preserve some items bearing upon the history of our State that are difficult to find, some of which may soon be lost.

A desire to know more of the history of my native county (Lee) led me to make an investigation of the various books and documents to which one might confidently appeal for knowledge of our State. This search brought to light many items that seem to have escaped the notice of our historians. Some of them may be of interest to those who want to know more of our history.

The names of the authorities consulted would make a list too long for insertion. No State or county history has been overlooked. Many old newspapers, all printed statutes and legislative journals, and many of the documents on file in the office of the Secretary of State have been examined.

The work is incomplete, for there are many documents yet to be examined, but it is submitted for what it is worth, in the hope that it may be of service to some one.

Chicago, January 8, 1906.

William D. Barge.

Adair.—In the second session of the Tenth General Assembly, on July fifteen, 1837, James Craig of Jo Daviess, for the Committee on Internal Improvements, reported to the House a bill for "An Act to create the county of Adair, and for other purposes," which was read and ordered to a second reading. Later it was referred to a select committee composed of Craig, Parven Paulsen of Pike and Mark Aldrich of Hancock, and they never reported upon it.

Allen.—When the bill for the "Act to create and establish the county of Jersey," which was approved February twenty-eighth, 1839, was up for third reading in the House, John Naper of Cook moved to amend by striking out Jersey and inserting Benton. Orlando B. Ficklin of Coles called for a division of the question, and Jersey was stricken out, but the effort to insert Benton failed. William H. Hen-

derson of Putnam moved to insert Allen, but the motion was lost. Upon a reconsideration Naper's motion was withdrawn, and the bill passed.

The House Committee on Counties of the Twelfth General Assembly reported a bill for "An Act for the formation of the county of Allen" which was sent to a select committee composed of James N. Brown of Sangamon, Lewis W. Ross of Fulton, Robert F. Barnett of DeWitt, Francis A. Olds of Macoupin and James Parkinson of Morgan and was reported in due time. Having passed both houses it was approved February twenty-seventh, 1841. The boundary line would have included parts of Macoupin, Morgan and Sangamon. The act provided for an election in those counties at which the question of the formation of the new county should be determined. It is matter of common knowledge that the effort failed. (See Oregon.)

Ambraw.—When the bill for the "Act to establish Cumberland county," which was approved March second, 1843, was pending in the House George M. Hanson of Coles moved to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert provisions for a division of Coles by a line between townships twelve (in which Mattoon and Charleston are situated) and thirteen, and that if a majority of those voting on the question should favor this line then all of Coles north of the line should be the county of Ambraw and all south of it should be Coles county; and if a majority should be against this division and for a division by cutting off fourteen miles from the south end of Coles then the dividing line between Coles and the new county should begin at the northwest corner of section thirty, township eleven, north, range seven east of the third principal meridian, and run thence east to Clark, and the new county should be called Cumberland. The House would not agree to this and the bill passed without amendment. Cumberland was given all of Coles south of the last mentioned line.

Athens.—Efforts to divide Sangamon led the House Committee on Counties of the Twelfth General Assembly, 1840–41, to report a bill for "An Act to create the county of Athens"which was sent to a select committee composed of John Bennett of Menard, Josiah Francis of Sangamon and Solomon Parsons of Pike, who failed to report upon it.

Audubon—The "Act to establish the county of Audubon," approved February sixth, 1843, submitted to the electors of Montgomery and Fayette, but not to those in Shelby, a proposal to form a new county out of territory in the three named. The project failed.

Azby—When the bill for the "Act for the formation of a new county out of the counties of Edwards and Crawford," which was approved January sixteenth, 1821, was before the House, January 4, 1821; David Blackwell of St. Clair moved to strike out Perry and insert Dubois, but the motion failed. Henry Eddy of Gallatin then moved to insert Decatur in lieu of Perry, and that failed. Then Blackwell moved that Pike be inserted instead of Perry, and the motion was lost. He then moved to strike out the word Perry and insert the word "Asby" in lieu thereof. This motion was also lost. On motion of Wickliffe Kitchell of Crawford, Lawrence was substituted, and the bill passed.

Benton—The fourth section of the House bill for the "Act to create

certain counties therein named," approved March fourth, 1837, which created De Kalb, Boone and Stephenson, was amended in the Senate, on motion of Orville H. Browning of Adams, by changing the name of the new county from Benton to De Kalb. When the bill was returned to the House an effort to change the name of De Kalb to Marshall was made, but it failed.

When the bill for the "Act to create and establish the county of Jersey," approved February twenty-eighth, 1839, was before the House, John Naper of Cook moved to amend by striking out Jersey and inserting Benton. The question being divided, at the request of Orlando B. Ficklin of Coles, Jersey was stricken out, but the effort to insert Benton failed, under the rules only forty-six members voting for the change while twenty-four were opposed to it. A motion to insert Allen was made by William H. Henderson of Putnam, but it was lost. Naper's motion was then withdrawn and the bill passed.

The bill for the "Act to create the county of Wilcox" was amended in the House on motion of Andrew J. Kuykendall of Johnson, by striking out Wilcox and inserting Massac, after motions to insert Benton, Harrison, Ohio and Van Buren had failed. It was approved February eighth, 1843.

An "Act for the formation of the county of Benton and for other purposes," approved March fourth, 1843, made provision for a county of that name out of territory in Morgan, Greene and Macoupin, but it failed to receive the necessary votes at the polls and was ineffective.

Bradley—Efforts to make a new county out of Randolph or out of Randolph and Jackson led the House committee on counties of the Fifteenth General Assembly, 1846-47, to recommend the passage of a bill for an "Act to establish the county of Bradley." It was read three times and then, on motion of Edward O'Melveny of the Randolph-Monroe district, indefinitely postponed.

Brown—In the Sixth General Assembly, 1828-29, Peter Cartwright of Sangamon introduced in the House a bill without a title but which is known in the journal as a bill for "An Act forming the counties of Chicago, Pinckney and Brown." After second reading it was sent to the committee of the whole, amended there, and then, on motion of Jonathan H. Pugh of Sangamon, laid on the table where it remained. The proposed Brown would have had a boundary beginning at the northeast corner of township thirty-six, north, range ten, east of the third principal meridian (one of the Cook-Will corners), running thence west to the northwest corner of township thirty-six, range five (near Somonauk), thence to the southwest corner of township thirty-one, range five, thence to the southeast corner of township thirty-one, range ten, thence north to the place of beginning, thus including part of LaSalle, Will, Kankakee, Kendall and all of Grundy.

The Brown we know was formed from Schuyler in 1839, an effort to create it, with a slightly different boundary, having failed in 1837.

Calhoun—Formed in 1825 out of Pike.

See Okaw.

In the first session of the Tenth General Assembly, 1836-37, a House bill for "An Act to abolish the county of Calhoun, and for other purposes" was amended so that the title read "An Act to provide for the

election of a probate justice of the peace," after the defeat of a motion of Richard B. Servant of Randolph to make it read "An Act inflicting a vital stab upon the constitution." At the same session the title of a bill for "An Act concerning the county of Calhoun, and for other purposes" was changed to "An Act to incorporate the Grafton and Whitehall Hotel Company" and then passed. Neither of these acts has any bearing upon the creation or organization of a county.

CARROLL—Created by the "Act to organize the county of Carroll," approved February twenty-second, 1839.

The House bill for the "Act establishing the county of Greene," approved January twentieth, 1821, was amended in the Senate, on the motion of Leonard White of White, by changing the name of the new county from Carroll to Greene.

The original bill for the "Act to establish certain counties," approved January sixteenth, 1836, which created Kane, Ogle, McHenry, Winnebago and Whiteside and changed the boundaries of Jo Daviess, gave the name of Carroll to one of the new counties, but it disappeared in the committee room as did the words "in honor of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," that had been inserted after it on motion of George W. P. Maxwell, the Senator from Schuyler.

CASS—Created by the "Act for the formation of the county of Cass," approved March third, 1837.

When the bill for the act creating Kane, Ogle, McHenry, Winnebago and Whiteside, that we have just mentioned, was before the Senate William Thomas of Morgan moved to amend by inserting Cass and Reynolds in the blanks. It is a fair presumption that those blanks were left for the names of the new counties, but the printed journal does not show that fact, nor does it show any direct action on the motion. It seems that these names were intended for Kane or Ogle or Winnebago. (See Chippewa.)

When the bill that created Cass was before the Senate Benjamin Bond of the Clinton-Marion district moved to strike out Cass and insert "Moredock, in honor of the late Col. John Moredock, of Monroe county," but the bill was sent to a committee without action on this motion. It was reported with amendments, one evidently furthering this motion for Richard B. Servant of Randolph moved to strike out Moredock and insert Marshall. This motion failed but the amendment was rejected and Cass retained as the name. The original title of the bill was "A bill for An Act to provide for contingencies."

CHICAGO—Peter Cartwright of Sangamon, for the committee on internal improvements, introduced in the House of the Sixth General Assembly, 1828-29, a bill that bore no title. In making up the journal the clerk entitled it a bill for "An Act forming the counties of Chicago. Pinckney and Brown." It was read twice, sent to the committee of the whole and reported with amendments, and then on motion of Jonathan H. Pugh, of Sangamon, laid on the table where it remained.

As originally drawn the third section of the bill would have created "the county of————————" with a boundary line running west from the northeast corner of township forty-one north, range fourteen east of the third principal meridian (near Evanston), to the

northwest corner of township forty-one, range ten, east, thence south (on the line between the towns of Barrington and Palatine) to the northwest corner of township thirty-seven, thence east to the northwest corner of township thirty-seven, range eleven (one of the DuPage-Will corners) thence south to the southwest corner of township thirty-five, thence east on the township line to the east line of the state, thence north to Lake Michigan and along the lake to the place of beginning "including and embracing the lands covered by the waters of the lake being within the jurisdiction of this State."

In the original bill all the words describing this county have been crossed out and over them is pasted a slip, evidently the amendment of the committee, which names this county Chicago and runs its boundary thus, beginning on the eastern boundary line of the State at a point in Lake Michigan opposite the line between townships forty-one and forty-two, north, range fourteen east of the third principal meridian, and running thence west to the northwest corner of township forty-one, range ten east, thence south to the northwest corner of township thirty-seven, thence east to the northwest corner of township thirty-seven, range eleven, thence south to the southwest corner of township thirty-five, range eleven, thence east to the eastern boundary of the State and along that to the place of beginning. The fourth section of the bill attached to this county all the country lying north of Chicago Pinckney (whose north line was to be the north line of township thirty-five north) and Brown (whose north line was to be the north line of township thirty-six north) as far west as the third principal meridian, and all the country south of these counties so as to include township twenty-eight north, "which is not included in the boundaries of any other county."

The south line of these counties would have run from the Indiana line west along the north line of township thirty, north, to the southwest corner of township thirty-one, range four east of the third principal meridian, thence south to the southwest corner of township twenty-eight, and thence west to the Illinois. There was then no country south of this line that was north of township twenty-eight that was included in any other county. The country north of township twenty-eight and west of range one west of that meridian to the Illinois was attached to Peoria; that in range one west and ranges one, two and three east of that meridian, north of township twenty-eight, and in ranges four, five and six north of township twenty to the Illinois was attached to Tazewell, while all north of township twenty-two east of Tazewell's attached territory was attached to Vermilion.

It may be that the failure of this bill can be accounted for by the fact that the Senate had passed and the House was then considering, though it took no final action upon it, a bill for "An Act constituting the county of Michigan," which would have created a county including, with other territory, nearly all that was to go into the proposed Chicago.

CHIPPEWA—The sixth section of the "Act to establish certain counties," approved January sixteenth, 1836, created Whiteside. The name first proposed for this county was Chippewa. A motion to strike

out that name and insert Dunn was made in the House by Willia m J. Gatewood of Gallatin, but it failed, and then an amendment was adopted, on motion of Samuel Hackelton of Fulton, that changed the name to Whiteside.

Coffee—The "Act for the formation of the county of Coffee," approved March first, 1837, made provision for the establishment of a county with this name composed of the territory in the present Stark and the southeast township in Henry, but the effort failed at the polls. (Chapman, History of Knox county; Shallenberger, "Stark County and Its Pioneers.") The county is shown on the map in A. D. Jones', "Illinois and The West." A motion to change the name to Keokuk was lost in the House.

Columbia—Petitions from Jo Daviess, Putnam and the attached parts of Tazewell for the formation of a new county led the House committee on petitions in the Seventh General Assembly, 1830-31, by Jacob Ogle of St. Clair, to report a bill for "An Act to create and organize the county of Columbia." No action was taken upon it by the House. Possibly the Legislature thought a sufficient answer to these petitions was made by the erection of Cook and La Salle by the "Act to create and organize the counties therein named," approved January fifteenth, 1831.

During the session of the Eighteenth General Assembly, 1853, efforts to form a new county out of Cook and Will, or out of Cook Will and Iroquois, or out of Will and Iroquois led to the introduction of the Senate bill for an "Act to establish the county of Columbia, and for the other purposes therein named." It was read twice and sent to a committee that, at its own request, was soon discharged from further consideration of the matter, and the bill was laid on the table. This action was probably brought about by the passage of the "Act to establish the county of Kankakee, and for other purposes therein named," approved February eleventh, 1853, which created a new county out of Will and Iroquois.

Cook—See Okaw.

Dane—The "Act to establish the counties of Menard, Logan and Dane," approved February fifteenth, 1839, was not entirely satisfactory to the people living in the last named county and steps were soon taken by them to have the county's name changed. At a mass meeting held to consider the matter Thomas P. Bond moved that the name be changed to Christian, and this carried. The result of this effort was the passage of the "Act to change the name of the county of Dane to that of Christian," which was approved February first, 1840, This is the only county in the State whose name was changed after the county was created.

Darke—When the bill for the "Act forming a new county out of the counties of Washington, Bond and Fayette," approved December twenty-seventh, 1823, was before the House, Risdon Moore, Jr., of St. Clair, secured the adoption of an amendment changing the name of the new county from Darke to Clinton.

Daveiss—When the House Bill for the act establishing Jo Daviess county was pending in the Senate, it was amended on motion by Joseph Duncan of Jackson, afterwards Governor, by striking out the words "to

be called" and inserting "and to perpetuate the memory of Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess who fell in the battle of Tippecanoe in gallantly charging upon the enemy at the head of his corps the said county shall be called Jo Daviess." Governor Reynolds says that he proposed the name and John McLean moved to make it Jo Daviess and this was promptly done ("My Own Times," p. 170).

When the House Bill "An Act defining the eastern line of Tazewell county, and to locate a permanent seat of justice thereof" was pending in the Senate of the Seventh General Assembly, 1830-31, Robert K. McLaughlin of Fayette moved to amend by adding a section making the name of this county Daviess, and requiring the Secretary of State to erase the word Jo from all laws in his office, but the motion was lost.

The man for whom the county was named spelled his name thus—Daveiss. (Ind. His. Soc. Pub. v. 3, p. 177, note by J. P. Dunn, quoting the title of a pamphlet written by Daveiss.)

Decatur—See Azby.

There was introduced in the Senate of the Second General Assembly, 1820-21, a bill for "An Act forming a new county on the bounty lands." In it was a blank, evidently left for the name of the new county, and Edmund B. W. Jones of Union secured the adoption of an amendment inserting the name Decatur in this blank. The bill was afterwards laid on the table and another bill passed that created Pike.

Douglas—An effort to divide Fulton led to the introduction in the Senate of the Fifteenth General Assembly, 1846-47, of a bill for "An Act to create the county of Douglas." The motion of George M. Hanson of the Coles district to strike out Douglas and insert Ficklin, was laid on the table on motion of Peter Warren of Shelby. The bill was lost in the House.

Douglas was created out of Coles in 1857.

DuBois—See Azby.

Dunn—See Chippewa.

Eagle—Silas Noble of Lee introduced in the Senate of the Fifteenth General Assembly, 1846-47, a petition of citizens of Lee, DeKalb and LaSalle for a new county to be called Eagle, which should include those parts of the three counties lying in townships thirty-six, thirty-seven and thirty-eight in ranges one, two, three and four east of the third principal meridian, and township thirty-nine in ranges one and two east. It went to a committee that was afterwards discharged from further consideration of it, and Noble was given leave to withdraw the petition.

In 1853 William B. Plato of Kane introduced in the Senate of the Eighteenth General Assembly, a bill for "An Act to establish the county of Eagle, and for other purposes therein named." After the second reading it went to the committee on elections and no report was made upon it.

In the constitutional convention of 1869-70, W. W. Sedgwick of DeKalb introduced a petition of citizens of the same counties praying that the constitution be so framed that a new county could be formed

out of their territory whenever two-thirds of the voters in that territory petitioned the General Assembly therefor. It went to the committee on counties and was not reported upon.

FICKLIN—See Douglas.

FLEMING—This is the name first proposed for the present Moultrie. The change was brought about by William Williamson, senator for that district, who desired to honor the memory of the hero of the Revolutionary War. (Brink, McDonough & Co.'s History of Moultrie County.)

FORSYTHE—Citizens of Jo Daviess petitioned the Tenth General Assembly, 1836-37, for the establishment of the county of Forsythe. Stephenson was created by an act passed at that session and took part of Jo Daviess. This probably satisfied the petitioners for after the passage of the Act creating Stephenson the committee on petitions was discharged from further consideration of the Forsythe petition.

GOTH.—See Okaw.

HANCOCK.—Created by the "Act forming new counties out of the counties of Pike and Fulton, and the attached parts thereof," approved January thirteenth, 1825. (See Hardly.)

HARDLY.—When the bill for the "Act altering the name of Johnson county" came up for third reading in the Senate of the Second General Assembly, 1820–21, Zariah Maddux of Washington moved to strike out Hardin, and that was done. Lewis Barker of Pope moved to insert Hancock, but the motion was lost. On motion of Leonard White of White, Hardly was inserted. Maddux then moved that the bill pass, and the result was the defeat of the bill.

HARRISON.—This is one of the names unsuccessfully proposed for Massac in 1843. (See Benton.)

In February, 1847, Newton Cloud of Morgan, Speaker of the House, introduced, by leave, a bill for "An Act to create the county of Polk." It was read twice and, by a vote of forty-four to forty-one, ordered engrossed for third reading. At its third reading Stephen T. Logan of Sangamon secured the adoption of two amendments, one changing the boundaries, the other changing the name of the county from Polk to Harrison. It passed the House, fifty-eight to thirty-one, only to be indefinitely postponed in the Senate, on the motion of Ninian W. Edwards of Sangamon, by a vote of eighteen to seventeen. The territory proposed to be placed in the new county was in Morgan, Macoupin and Sangamon. To one not familiar with that section this looks like an effort to make Waverly a county seat.

The "Act to establish the county of Harrison, and for other purposes therein named," approved February fourteenth, 1855, submitted to the electors of Vermilion, Champaign and McLean a proposal to form a new county out of their territory. The result was adverse to the scheme. This was Saybrook's effort to become a county seat. (Le Baron's History of McLean County.)

HENDRICKS.—Thomas Orendorff and James Latta, the committee having charge of the petition for the formation of a new county out of Tazewell, which led to the passage of the "Act creating McLean

county," approved December thirtieth, 1830, called upon Speaker W. L. D. Ewing of the House to obtain his assistance. Latta stated that it was proposed to call the county Hendricks, after a Mr. Hendricks of Indiana, and Ewing, saying that he did not favor the plan of naming counties for men then living, suggested that it be called McLean, and this was done. (Duis, "Good Old Times in McLean County.") The manner in which this bill was "jammed" through is good material for another story.

HENRY.—In the earlier days many of the bills introduced in the Legislature went without titles until they were engrossed for third reading, and they were known, or at least described in the printed journals, by names that were not always retained throughout their progress. The journal shows that a select committee of the House of the Third General Assembly, 1822–23, reported favorably a bill for "An Act to form a new county out of the attached part of Pike," and upon its second reading it was amended, on motion of Nicholas Hansen of Pike, by filling the first blank, presumably the one left for the name of the new county, with the word Fulton. Alexander P. Field of Union moved, without success, to strike out Fulton and insert Henry. The bill that created Fulton was approved January twenty-eighth, 1823, and is entitled, "An Act forming a new county out of the attached part of the county of Pike." Henry was formed in 1825.

HIGHLAND.—See Marquette.

HOLMES.—Petitions of citizens of Iroquois, that part of that county be placed in a new county to be called Holmes, with petitions for a new county out of Vermilion and Iroquois, and others that a part of McLean be included, led the Senate of the Twentieth General Assembly, 1857, to pass a bill for "An Act concerning the creation of a new county therein named, and to provide for attaching thereto a portion of Iroquois county." It failed in the House, where Oliver L. Davis of Vermilion had introduced a petition of citizens of his county praying for the formation of the county of Savanna. The latter bill was sent to a committee that reported a bill for "An Act to create the county of Savanna, and for other purposes therein named." The last mentioned bill was amended, on motion of Davis, by striking out Savanna wherever it occurred and inserting Holmes. It passed both houses as a bill for "An Act to create the county of Holmes, and for other purposes therein named," and was approved January thirty-first, 1857. It was dependent upon the result of an election, and failed there. The county would have taken territory from Champaign and Vermilion.

HOMER—In Beckwith's History of Vermilion County, p. 587, in the chapter on Elwood township, the following is found: "In 1857 the vote for establishing Homer county was 1 to 189 against." This is the only mention of a county having this name that has come to our notice.

HUBBARD—When the Senate bill for the "Act to form a new county out of the attached part of Greene county, north of town twelve," which was approved January thirty-first, 1823, was before the House it was amended, upon the recommendation of a select committee com-

posed of Thomas Rattan of Greene, James Sims of Sangamon and Nicholas Hansen of Pike, by, among other things, changing the name of the new county from Hubbard to Morgan.

JOLIET—For the House committee on petitions, John T. Stuart of Sangamon, reporting upon a petition from Cook, La Salle and Iroquois for a new county, which had been introduced by John Hamlin, of Peoria, reported a bill for "An Act to establish the county of Joliet." It was amended by changing the name of the county to Will, and by making a slight change in the boundary. It was approved January twelfth, 1836.

KANKAKEE—The "Act to establish the county of Kankakee, and for other purposes therein named." approved February eleventh, 1851, failed to get the approval of the people at the election for which it provided and that effort failed. The county was established under an act having the same title which was approved February eleventh, 1853. It is probable that the passage of the last mentioned act caused the abandonment of the effort to pass the bill for the "Act to establish the county of Columbia, and for other purposes therein named."

KEOKUK—See Coffee.

LINCOLN—The "Act to create the county of Lincoln, and for other purposes," approved March ninth, 1867, submitted to the electors of Champaign and Vermilion the question of the formation of a county with that name out of territory in those counties. The effort failed. This is the last act passed providing for the creation of a county.

LUDLOW—Kett's History of Jo Daviess county says that the name first proposed for that county was Ludlow.

MACKINAW—The Legislative journals show that the House passed a bill for "An Act creating Mackinaw county." The Senate changed the name of the county and made other amendments, and passed the bill with the title reading, "An Act creating Tazewell county." It was reported enrolled as "An Act creating the county of Tazewell," and as laid before the Council of Revision entitled, "An Act creating Tazewell county."

MARQUETTE—The "Act to create the county of Marquette, and for other purposes therein mentioned," approved February eleventh, 1843, gave that county two tiers of townships off the east end of Adams, with one tier of sections off the east end of another township so that the county seat would not be too close to the western boundary of the county. Although this was the result of a county seat fight the people of the new county would not organize. (*People* v *Wren*, 4 Scammon's Reports, p. 269.) The passage of the "Act to change the name of the county of Marquette, to organize the same, and to attach a portion of the county of Adams thereto, to provide for the collection of the revenue therein, and for other purposes therein mentioned," approved February twenty-seventh, 1847, did not induce the people to organize the county, and it went out of existence by operation of the Constitution of 1848. The new name proposed for the county by last mentioned Act is Highland.

Marquette is shown on the map in D. W. Beadle's "American Lawyer and Business-Man's Form-Book," New York, 1852.

MARSHALL—For the committee on petitions of the House of the Tenth General Assembly, 1836-7, upon a petition for a division of Sangamon, Stephen A. Douglas reported a bill for "An Act for the organization of the county of ————." It was sent to a select committee composed of Abraham Lincoln and Robert L. Wilson of Sangamon and William A. Richardson of Schuyler, and was reported with amendments, one of which gave the name of Marshall to the new county. David A. Nowlin of Monroe moved to strike out that name and insert Van Buren and the motion prevailed. It passed the House only to be indefinitely postponed by the Senate. The county would have included about one-third of Mason, a small part of Sangamon and nearly all of Menard.

At the same session the House laid on the table a bill for "An Act to establish the county of Marshall," which provided for a county with a boundary line beginning at the center of the main channel of the Illinois on the line between townships twenty and twenty-one north, third principal meridian, running thence east on the township line to the center of range five west; thence south to the corner of sections twenty-seven, twenty-eight, thirty-three and thirty-four, township eighteen; thence west to the corner of sections twenty-six, twenty-seven, thirty-four and thirty-five, range six; thence south to the corner of sections twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-six and twenty-seven, township seventeen; thence west to the center of range eight (the Sangamon-Morgan line); thence north to the Sangamon river and down its main channel to the Illinois and up that river to the place of beginning.

The Marshall of our time was formed at a later day out of other territory.

See Benton, Cass and Van Buren.

MASON—A petition from citizens of Sangamon and Tazewell for a new county out of their territory to be called Mason was presented to the Eleventh General Assembly 1838-39, only to meet the adverse report of the committee considering it. The county of this name was formed in 1841 from territory in Menard, Tazewell and Sangamon.

MICHIGAN—The Senate of the Third General Assembly, 1829, passed a bill for "An Act constituting the county of Michigan," but it failed in the House. The county would have been bounded on the north and east by the State line, on the west by Fox river and on the south by the Illinois and the Kankakee. Chicago was named as the county seat.

McHenry is one of the five counties created by the "Act to establish certain counties," approved January sixteenth, 1836. When the bill for this act was in the Senate William H. Davidson of White secured the adoption of an amendment changing the name of this county from Michigan to McHenry.

The "Act for the formation of Michigan county," approved March second 1837, submitted to a vote, a proposal to form a county of that name with a boundary including the present DuPage and the parts of Cook lying north and south of it.

In 1838 an effort was made to form a county having this name out of a portion of Cook and that part of McHenry lying east of Fox river. (E. M. Haines in Le Baron's "Past and Present of Lake County.")

MILLER—In his address before the State Bar Association upon the Organization of the State into Counties, Judge Moses says that in 1841 provision was made by an act of the legislature for the formation of the county of Miller out of Macoupin and Morgan, but there is no such statute, and the principal legislative journals make no mention of such a bill. Possibly the author was writing from memory and intended to mention, as he does not, the "Act for the formation of the county of Allen," approved February twenty-seventh, 1841, which provided for the formation of such a county out of Macoupin, Morgan and Sangamon.

MILTON—The "Act to create the county of Milton," approved February twenty-first, 1843, submitted to the voters in Vermilion a proposition to form a county with that name out of the southern part of Vermilion.

MONEE—Upon the report of its committee on counties the House of the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly, 1869, struck out the enacting clause of a bill for "An Act to establish the county of Monee, and for other purposes therein named." It was introduced by George Gaylord of Will.

MOREDOCK—See Cass.

NELSON—Citizens of Sangamon, Morgan and Macoupin presented to the House of the Eleventh General Assembly, 1838-39, a petition praying for the formation of a new county to be called Nelson out of territory in those named. It went to the committee on counties and no report was made upon it.

NILE—The Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844-45, was asked by citizens of Alexander to create out of that county a new one to be called Nile. After the Senate committee had considered the petition some time it was discharged and the effort failed.

OAKLAND—Peru's ambition to be a county seat led some citizens of La Salle and Bureau to petition the Eleventh, Thirteenth and Fourteenth General Assemblies to create a new county out of their territory, and the last effort induced the introduction in the House of a bill for "An Act to create the county of Oakland, and for other purposes," which was laid on the table after the second reading. A final effort was made before the Fifteenth General Assembly where a bill with same title was introduced in the House. It failed after a second reading.

OHIO—The Senate of the Fourth General Assembly passed a bill for "An Act to establish Ohio county." On January nineteenth, 1826, the House ordered it laid on the table until the fourth of July following, and the Assembly adjourned January twenty-eighth. Citizens of Pope and Gallatin remonstrated against the passage of the bill.

See Benton.

OKAW—The Senate of the Second General Assembly passed a bill for "An Act forming a new county out of the counties of Bond and Crawford." On third reading these motions were made and lost: By

Michael Jones of Gallatin to strike out Calhoun and insert Goth; by Milton Ladd of Johnson to strike out Calhoun and insert Okaw; by Zariah Maddux to strike out Calhoun and insert Cook; by William Boon of Jackson to strike out Calhoun and insert Vandalia. The House struck out all after the enacting clause. It was the effort to pass this bill that led to the passage of the "Act forming a new county out of the parts of counties therein contained," approved February fourteenth, 1821, which created Fayette out of Bond, Crawford and Pike.

The "Act to establish the county of Okaw," approved February twenty-fourth, 1841, made provision for a new county with practically the same boundaries that Moultrie has. It failed at the polls.

The House passed a bill for "An Act for the formation of the county of Okaw." On motion of Peter Warren of Shelby the Senate amended the bill and its title by changing the name of the county to Moultrie. It was approved February sixteenth, 1843.

In the Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844-45, petitions from Moultrie, Coles, Shelby and Cumberland led to the introduction in the House of a bill for "An Act to create the county of Okaw out of the county of Coles." It was laid on the table after the second reading.

ORANGE—The name originally proposed for Kendall was Orange. The change was made by the House on motion of Ebenezer Peck of Cook. Joseph Gillespie of Madison moved to prefix the words "Honest Amos," but his motion was tabled on the motion of William H. Bissell of Monroe.

While the troubles caused by the failure of the citizens of Marquette to organize their county were disturbing the Legislature the House of the Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844-45, passed a bill for "An Act to create the county of Orange." It was lost in the Senate. It grew out of petitions from Adams, Marquette and Pike for a new county.

OREGON—Upon petitions from Morgan and Macoupin for a new county there was introduced in the Senate of the Sixteenth General Assembly, 1849, a bill for "An Act for the erection of the county of Oregon." It was amended and passed by the Senate with the title reading "An Act for the erection of the county of Oregon, and the organization of the same." The House struck out the enacting clause and ended that effort.

The "Act for the formation of the county of Oregon," approved February fifteenth, 1851, made provision for the creation of such a county out of territory in Macoupin, Morgan and Sangamon. The territory is about the same as that proposed for Allen. The effort failed at the polls.

PARK—Leonard Swett of McLean introduced in the House of the Twenty-first General Assembly, 1859, a bill for "An Act to form the new county of Park out of the counties of McLean, Champaign and Vermilion." It was not heard of after being ordered engrossed. Possibly the passage of the Act creating Ford was regarded as a sufficient answer to the petitions that induced Swett to act.

PERRY—See Azby.

A bill for "An Act creating Perry county," passed the House of the Third General Assembly, 1822-23, but failed in the Senate. The county bearing this name was formed by an act having that same title which was approved January twenty-ninth, 1827.

PIKE—Created by the "Act to form a new county on the bounty lands," approved January thirty-first, 1821. An unsuccessful effort had been made a few days before the passage of this act to give this name to Lawrence county. See Azby

PINCKNEY—Section one of the bill for the "Act forming the counties of Chicago, Pinckney and Brown," as it stood when introduced, provided for a county to be called Pinckney, with a boundary line beginning at the north-east corner of township thirty-five north, range four east of the third principal meridian, and running thence "easterly" (manifestly an error) along the "north line of the surveys to the north-west corner of fractional township eighteen north, range ten east of the fourth principal meridian" (in Bureau county); thence south on the range line to the southwest corner of township thirteen; thence east to main channel of the Illinois river and down it to the "southwest angle" of fractional township twenty-eight, north, range four west of the third principal meridian; thence east on the township line to the east line of range four east of the third principal meridian, thence north to the place of beginning. The county seat was to be located near the mouth of the Little Vermilion. An amendment by the committee made the northeast corner of the county the north-east corner of township thirty-five north, range seven east of the third principal meridian, but did not change the other lines. The county would have contained parts of Bureau, Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Livingston and La Salle.

POLK—Citizens of De Witt asked the Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844, to create a new county to be called Polk, and a bill for that purpose was read twice in the House and then tabled. (See Harrison.)

RADIATION—Petitions for a new county out of Hardin and Gallatin and others, for a division of Pope, with remonstrances against any such action, were presented to the House of the Twelfth General Assembly, and George T. Waters of Pope introduced a bill for "An Act to create the county of Radiation." After second reading it was indefinitely postponed, on motion of John Oliver of Johnson.

RICHMAN—Petitions for the formation, out of Coles and Champaign, of a county to be called Richman led to the passage of the "Act to establish the county of Douglas, and for other purposes," approved February thirteenth, 1857. This effort failed. Douglas was created by an act passed in 1859.

REYNOLDS—See Cass.

SAVANNA—See Holmes.

SOMERSET—J. M. Hood of Du Page introduced in the House of the Twenty-First General Assembly, 1859, a bill for "An Act to create the county of Somerset, and for other purposes." It was ordered engrossed for third reading and then dropped. There were petitions from Iroquois and Vermilion asking that this bill be passed.

SUMMIT—John A. Logan of Jackson introduced in the House of the Twentieth General Assembly, 1857, a bill for "An Act to establish the county of Summit, and for other purposes." It was read twice and sent to a committee that did not report upon it.

The bill for "An Act to create the county of Summit, and for other purposes" was amended in the House on motion of John A. Davis of Stephenson by striking out Summit wherever it occurred and inserting Ford. It passed entitled, "An Act to create the county of Ford, and for other purposes," and was approved February seventeenth, 1859. This is the last county created.

TIOGA.—George C. Bestor of Peoria introduced into the Senate of the Twenty-first General Assembly, 1859, a bill for "An Act to create the county of Tioga, and for other purposes therein named." Though ordered engrossed for third reading no final action was taken upon it by the Senate.

VAN BUREN.—In the House of the Tenth General Assembly, 1836–37, Stephen A. Douglas of Morgan, chairman of the Committee on Petitions, reporting upon a petition for a division of Sangamon, reported a bill for "An Act for the organization of the county of....." After second reading it went to a select committee composed of Abraham Lincoln and Robert L. Wilson of Sangamon, and William A. Richardson of Schuyler, who reported it with amendments, one of them making the name Marshall. On motion of David A. Nowlin of Monroe, Marshall was stricken out and Van Buren inserted as the name of the new county. After a reference to another select committee consisting of Ninian W. Edwards, and Dan Stone, of Sangamon, and Douglas, the House passed the bill. The Senate postponed consideration of it indefinitely and took no further action upon it. The boundary line ran thus: beginning at the northwest corner of Sangamon (then where the north line of township twenty north third principal meridian, touches the Illinois river), running thence east on the township line to the northeast corner of township twenty north, range five west (on the Logan-Mason line); thence south on the range line to the southeast corner of township eighteen north; thence diagonally across ranges five, six and seven, to the southwest corner of township seventeen north, range seven west; thence west on the township line to the Sangamon-Morgan line (then and now the center of range eight west); thence north to the Sangamon river (at the northwest corner of the present Menard) thence along that river (the Cass-Mason line) to the Illinois and up that river to the place of beginning, Petersburg was named as the county seat. This county would include one-third of Mason, a small part of Sangamon and nearly all of the present Menard.

There was introduced in the House of the Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844-45, a bill for "An Act for the formation of the county of Van Buren." It passed the House and was laid on the Senate table. The proposed county would have taken territory from Randolph and Jackson. (See Benton and Marshall.)

VANDALIA.—See Okaw.

VERNON.—Petitions for a division of Tazewell led the Senate Committe on Counties of the Twelfth General Assembly, 1840–41, by John Moore, of McLean, to report a bill for "An Act to create the county of Vernon." After second reading and another report by the committee, upon a re-reference, further consideration was indefinitely postponed on motion of Richard N. Cullom of Tazewell.

VIRGIL.—There was introduced into the House of the Eleventh General Assembly, 1838–39, a bill for "An Act to create the county of Virgil." It was read twice and sent to a select committee composed of John Harris of Macoupin, Newton Cloud of Morgan, Ninian W. Edwards of Sangamon, John Logan of Jackson and William H. Henderson of Putnam. After a report by the committee with amendments, the bill, amendments and report were, on motion of William F. Elkin of Sangamon, indefinitely postponed.

WATSON.—This is the name originally proposed for Douglas. It is said that when the promoters of the bill creating that county were at the capital they were given to understand that the new county must be called Douglas, or the bill would fail. (Battey, History of Douglas County.)

WAUPONSEE.—While some citizens of Will and Iroquois were asking the Thirteenth General Assembly, 1842–43, to form a new county out of their territory, others remonstrated against the formation of a county to be called Wauponsee.

WILCOX.—See Benton.

## 11. LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG.

(By Hon. Clark E. Carr.)

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any Nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain—that the Nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The battle of Gettysburg was fought on the first, second and third of July, 1863.

The Confederate army under the command of General Robert E. Lee, elated with success, had entered Pennsylvania, menacing Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Even New York was threatened; for, had the advance of Lee not been checked, the great metropolis would have been at his mercy, and there can be little doubt but that the southern rebellion would have been successful. Under these circumstances, with the invading hordes upon them, the consternation and terror of the loyal people of Pennsylvania can be better imagined than described. That this invasion of the north was not successful is due to the heroism and fortitude of the Union soldiers, who, under the command of General George G. Meade, met the invader in mortal combat, and, after three days of desperate fighting in which many thousands were killed and a vast number wounded, hurled him back across the border, never to return.

It is not generally known that Illinois soldiers were the first to meet the onset of the enemy, and to fire the first shot in the great battle. This is the fact, brought out clearly by Colonel William Gamble, of the Eighth Illinois cavalry, in a letter to Hon. William L. Church and myself of date of March 10, 1864, the truth of which, so far as I know, has not been questioned. This regiment belonged to Buford's cavalry division, and fired the first shot in meeting and checking the advance of the Confederate General A. P. Hill. This shot precipitated and brought on the three days' conflict which turned the tide of war.

Scarcely had the reverberations of the guns of the battle died away, when the Hon. David Wills, a citizen of Gettysburg, wrote to the Honorable Andrew G. Curtin, the great war governor of Pennsylvania, suggesting that a plat of ground in the midst of the battlefield be at once purchased and set apart as a soldier's national cemetery, and that the remains of the dead be exhumed and placed in this cemetery. He suggested that the ground to be selected should be on what was known as "Cemetery Hill," so called because adjoining it, is the local cemetery of Gettysburg. As a reason why the ground should be chosen, Mr. Wills said: "It is the place where our army had about forty pieces of artillery in action all Thursday and Friday, and, for their protection, had thrown up a large number of earthworks. It is the point where the desperate attack was made by the Louisiana brigades on Thursday evening, when taking possession of them, and were finally driven back by the infantry, assisted by the artillerymen, with their handspikes and rammers. It was the key to the whole line of defenses, the spot of the triangular line of battle. It is the spot above all others, for the honorable burial of the dead who have fallen on these fields."

Governor Curtin at once approved of the recommendation of Mr. Wills, and correspondence was opened with the governors of loyal states, whose troops had engaged in the battle, asking them to co-operate in the movement. The grounds proposed by Mr Wills, seventeen acres which embraced the highest point of Cemetery Hill, and overlooks the whole battlefield, were at once purchased.

The governors of fifteen states immediately responded, foremost among whom was our great war governor, known and recognized everywhere as "the soldiers' friend," Richard Yates.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act incorporating "The Soldiers' National Cemetery," naming one trustee for each state co-operating, who was suggested by its governor. I was named for Illinois.

When the first meeting was held, supposing that each state would have two on the board, the governor appointed Hon. Wm L. Church of Chicago, then clerk of the Circuit court and recorder of Cook county, and myself; and together we attended the first meeting, after which I alone represented Illinois on the board. When Governor Yates retired from the executive office, I was re-appointed by Governor Oglesby. The board was organized by the election of Mr. David

Wills of Gettysburg, who had initiated the movement, president, and Mr. John R. Bartlett, secretary of state of Rhode Island, also one of our commissioners, secretary.

It must be remembered that when this board was established, the general government had not entered upon nor even considered the policy of establishing soldiers' national cemeteries. This came afterward, and I think that the suggestion of such a policy came from the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg. Our board continued in charge there until the government system was inaugurated, when we turned the cemetery over to the general government, which, having a fund for that purpose has since cared for it. As is the case with the other National cemeteries, an officer of the army and a guard of men are always kept there in charge.

The appropriations given us by the different states amounted in the aggregate to nearly an hundred and forty thousand dollars, Illinois contributing, notwithstanding the small number of our dead buried there (only six), $11,774.84. Illinois had but three regiments in the battle, the 8th and 12th cavalry, and the 82nd infantry.

The first action necessary after the movement to inaugurate the National cemetery had been determined upon, and the ground purchased, was to lay out a plot for graves, and to take up and remove the dead which were scattered over a radius of many miles. The dead had been hastily buried in the fields where they had fallen, and bodies were frequently found with scarcely any covering.

The cemetery was laid out in the form of a half circle the center of which was reserved for the imposing monument which has since been reared from which the half circles of the graves radiate, the inner half-circle, of course, being very small, and the half circles increasing in length and capacity as they extended. On this inner semi-circle, that nearest the monument, I was able to have placed the Illinois section, which, of course, is very small. On one side of our Illinois section is a large one, containing the graves of the unknown, and on the other that of the State of Virginia. It was upon the ground in the center reserved for the monument that the platform upon which the addresses were delivered was placed. This platform fronted away from the cemetery proper, giving room for the vast audience of people in front of and facing it, to be near to, but not upon, the graves.

At the head of every grave was placed a headstone of granite, rising nine inches above the ground, upon which was sculptured the name, company and regiment of each soldier, so far as could be ascertained, while those who could not be identified, were marked "unknown." Of the known there were 2,585 and of the unknown 979, making in the aggregate 3,564. Large as this number is, it does not nearly represent the number of fatalities among the union soldiers. Many of the wounded died in the hospitals and elsewhere, and the remains of quite a large number had been removed from the field by relatives and friends and taken to their respective homes.

It was proposed, as this work proceeded, that memorial dedicatory exercises be held to consecrate this sacred ground; which was finally determined upon. The day first fixed upon for these exercises was the 23rd of October.

The Honorable Edward Everett of Massachusetts was then regarded as the greatest living American orator, and it was decided to invite him to deliver the oration, and this was done. But he replied that it was "wholly out of his power to make the necessary preparation by the 23rd of October." So desirous were we all to have Mr. Everett, that the dedication was postponed to Thursday, the 19th of November, 1863, nearly a month, to suit Mr. Everett's convenience; when it actually took place.

A formal invitation to be present was sent to the President of the United States and his cabinet, to Major General George G. Meade, who commanded our tooops in the battle of Gettysburg, and to the officers and soldiers who participated, and gained the memorable victory. Invitations were also sent to the venerable Lieutenant General Winfield Scott and to Admiral Charles Stewart, the distinguished and time-honored representatives of the army and navy, the diplomatic corps representing foreign governments, to the members of both Houses of Congress and to other distinguished personages.

All these invitations and all the arrangements for the dedicatory exercises, as was the case with everything relating to the cemetery, were considered and decided upon by our board of commissioners, and were, in so far as he was able, under the direction of the board, carried into effect by Mr. Wills, our president. As we were all representing and speaking for the governors of our respective States, by whom we were appointed, we made all the invitations in their names.

The proposition to ask Mr. Lincoln to speak at the Gettysburg ceremonies was an after-thought. "The President of the United States" had; like the other distinguished personages, been invited to be present, but Mr. Lincoln was not, at that time, invited to speak. In fact, it did not seem to occur to any one, that he could speak upon such an occasion.

Scarcely any member of the board, excepting the member representing Illinois, had ever heard him speak at all, and no other member had ever heard him, or read from him, anything except political discussion. When the suggestion was made that he be invited to speak, while all expressed high appreciation of his great abilities as a political speaker, as shown in his debates with Senator Douglas, and in his Cooper Institute address, the question was raised as to his ability to speak upon such a grave and solemn occasion as that of the memorial services. Besides, it was said that, with his important duties and responsibilities, he could not possibly have the leisure to prepare an address for such an occasion. In answer to this it was urged that he himself better than anyone else could determine as to these questions, and that, if he were invited to speak, he was sure to do what, under the circumstances, would be right and proper.

It must be remembered that Mr. Lincoln had not then proved to the world his ability to speak upon such an occasion. He had not yet made a Gettysburg address, and he had not then made that other address which, for sublimity and pathos, ranks next to it, his second inaugural.

It was finally decided to ask President Lincoln to, "after the oration: (of Mr Everett) as chief executive of the nation, formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks." This was done in the name of the governors of the States, as was the case with others, by Mr. Wills; but the invitation was not settled upon and sent to Mr. Lincoln until the 2nd of November, more than six weeks after Mr. Everett had been invited to speak, and but a little more than two weeks before the exercises were held.

The President arrived at Gettysburg upon a special train about dusk on the evening before the exercies, Nov. 18, accompanied by Secretary Seward and other distinguished personages, including those two Illinois boys who afterwards became distinguished, John G. Nicolay, his private secretary, and his assistant private secretary, John Hay. He was driven at once to the residence of Mr. Wills, where he was entertained during his stay in the town.

We all, headed by a brass band, marched to Mr. Wills' house, and serenaded Mr. Lincoln, who appeared upon the veranda, but said little more than to excuse himself from speaking; after which we serenaded Secretary Seward, who made quite an extended address, and afterwards we serenaded others, who also spoke.

As to the time and manner of preparation of President Lincoln's address, I think that the best authority is that of Mr. Nicolay, who published an article on "Lincoln's Gettysburg address," which I find in a bound volume of the Century Magazine, running from November, 1893, to April 1894.

After saying that there is no decisive record of when Mr. Lincoln wrote the first sentences of his proposed address, Mr. Nicolay speaks of Mr. Lincoln's "usual" habit of "using great deliberation in arranging his thoughts, and molding his phrases, mentally, waiting to reduce them to writing until they had taken satisfactory form." There was greater necessity of precaution in this case, because the invitation specified that the address should only be "a few appropriate remarks." After saying that "brevity in speech and writing was one of Lincoln's marked characteristics," that Mr. Everett would be quite certain to make a long address, and speaking of "the want of opportunity" for Mr. Lincoln "even to think leisurely," Mr. Nicolay concludes the remark by saying that "all this strongly confirms the correctness of the statement made by the Hon. James Speed, in an interview published in the "Louisville Commercial," in November, 1870, that the President told him that the day before he left Washington he found time to write about half of the speech.

Mr. Nicolay continues as follows:

"It was after the breakfast hour on the morning ef the 19th, the day the address was delivered, that the writer, Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, went to the upper room in the home of Mr. Wills, which Mr. Lincoln occupied, to report for duty, and remained with the President while he finished writing the Gettysburg address during the short leisure, he could utilize for this purpose before being called to take his place in the procession, which was announced on the program to move at 10:00 o'clock.

"There is neither record evidence nor well founded tradition" Mr. Nicolay continued, "that Mr. Lincoln did any writing, or made any notes on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg. The train consisted of four passenger coaches, and, either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid the movement, the noise, the conversation, the greetings, and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but, still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of the train, rendering writing virtually impossible. Mr. Lincoln carried in his pocket the autograph manuscript of so much of his address as he had written at Washington the day before."

Mr. Nicolay's article contains a facisimile reproduction of the address then, as he declares, for the first time made public and printed in this article, one page of which is written in ink in the President's strong, clear hand, without blot or erasure, and the remainder written with a pencil, which latter were no doubt written at Gettysburg."

There are three versions of authority for Lincoln's Gettysburg address, says Mr. Nicolay.

First—The original autograph manuscript draft, written by Mr. Lincoln, partly at Washington and partly at Gettysburg. (This is the version to which reference is made above.)

Second—The version made by the shorthand reporter on the stand at Gettysburg, when the President delivered it, which was telegraphed and was printed in the leading newspapers of the country on the following morning.

Third—The revised copy made by the President a few days after his return to Washington, upon a careful comparison of his original draft, and the printed newspaper version, with his own recollections of the exact form in which he delivered it.

Mr. Nicolay says that "four days after Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington, Mr. Wills," president of our board of commissioners, wrote him "on behalf of the states interested in the National cemetery here" requesting "the original manuscript of the dedicatory remarks delivered by you here last Monday. We desire them to be placed with the correspondence and other papers connected with the project," and that, "to comply with this request," the President, after comparing the "Associated Press report as it appeared in the newspapers with his original draft," made a new autograph copy—a careful and deliberate revision—which has become the standard and authentic text." (It will be observed that four days after he spoke at Gettysburg, Mr. Wills designated the production as merely "dedicatory remarks.") I have in my possession a book published by the secretary of our board of commissioners, under the direction and at the expense of the board, entitled "The Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg," which contains the address made from that copy. It does not differ from those generally published.

New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburg, and all the towns and country round about were represented at the dedicatory exercises.

It was estimated that there were an hundred thousand people who attended. The crowds began to arrive two days before the exercises were held. I went over from Harrisburg on the day before and rode from there in a box freight car which was seated with rough boards for the occasion. I think that most of the passengers had similar accommodations, as the passenger coaches could not begin to carry the people who attended. The town, which then had a population of about 2,000, did not begin to be able to take care of the people, many of whom sat up all night. Fortunately for us, Mr. Wills had reserved quarters for the members of our board at the hotel.

It was expected that there would be a great number in a procession to follow the presidential party to the grounds, in which we were disappointed, as most of the people chose to go out by themselves over the battlefield, and through the cemetery.

At about 10:00 o'clock in the morning President Lincoln appeared at the door of Mr. Wills' house. Horses had been provided for him and his party, and some other distinguished personages, and for the members of the board of commissioners. The procession was delayed for some time by the people pressing forward to shake hands with the President after he was mounted upon his horse, which continued until stopped by the marshals.

Following those already mentioned, came civil and military organizations on foot and finally the people at large. One of the most interesting features of the procession was a large company of veteran soldiers, who had been wounded in the battle. The procession was under the direction of Major General Couch, marshal of the day.

President Lincoln, as we moved slowly forward, sat at first erect upon his horse, handling the reins of the bridle in the white gauntlet gloves he wore, in such a stately and dignified manner as to make him appear the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, which he was. Before we reached the grounds he was bent forward, his arms swinging, his body limp and his whole frame swaying from side to side. He had become so absorbed in thought that he took little heed of his surroundings and was riding just as he did over the circuit in Illinois, during the years of his early practice of law, with his saddle bags, which contained all of his possessions, dangling upon each side of his horse. Seats were reserved upon the platform for the President, the board of commissioners, and invited guests.

I have no recollection of when Mr. Everett reached Gettysburg, or how he got out to the grounds, but I distinctly remember that we waited for him a half an hour before the exercises commenced, during which the bands of music played airs that were solemn and impressive. The exercises were opened by an invocation by Reverend Dr. Stockton, who was, I think, then chaplain of the United States Senate. Letters of regret were read from General George G. Meade, who commanded our troops in the great battle and was still in command of the army at the front, from the venerable General Winfield Scott, and others; after which Mr. Everett was introduced and began his oration.

Volumes have been written upon Mr. Everett's address, many of them in a vein of unfriendly criticism, especially contrasting his long and studied speech with the short and pungent sentences of Mr. Lincoln.

Every just and fair person who intelligently reads that oration, must rise from its perusal with a feeling that few efforts of ancient or modern times, in splendors of metaphor, classical lore, eloquence of diction, lofty sentiments, and clear and logical reasoning, surpass it. He drew inspiration from the orators of Greece, at the fountain of whose eloquence he had drunk, being able to read their productions in the language through whose matchless purity and elegance and strength they had been given to the world. He took us at the outset to the wonderful Ceramicus in a most beautiful suburb of Athens, "adorned by Cimon the son of Miltiades with walks, and fountains, and columns, whose groves were filled with altars, and shrines, and temples, whose gardens were kept forever green by the streams from the neighboring hills, whose pathways gleamed with the monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble," and told us of the votive offerings laid upon the coffins of the dead, flowers, weapons, precious ornaments, painted vases, wonders of art, which, after two thousand years, adorn the museums of Europe; and of himself, "after an interval of twenty-three centuries, a youthful pilgrim from the world unknown to ancient Greece," visiting that "holy ground." He told of how, when the funeral obsequies were held in this wonderful Ceramicus, "beneath the overarching plane trees, upon a lofty stage, erected for the purpose, it was ordained that a funeral oration should be pronounced by some citizen of Athens, in presence of the assembled multitude."

After thus eloquently portraying the beauties of that wonderful cemetery, and recalling the exercises held over the dead heroes of the Peloponesian war who met and triumphantly hurled back the enemy, Mr. Everett even more eloquently pronounced an eulogium upon the dead heroes of the Union Army who so heroically met and overcame the invader and now slept beneath and about us, whose glories we were assembled to commemorate.

This led the orator to a narrative of the events of the campaign until the clash of arms came upon the field about us, in the center of which we were, and of the awful struggle and carnage of the three days of conflict.

It has been said that, were every official report and every printed word in regard to the battle of Gettysburg, except Mr. Everett's oration, destroyed, in its pages would be preserved to posterity such a lucid and concise account of the great battle as would make every important movement of every command perfectly clear.

Mr. Everett had asked for and received from General Meade and other officers accounts of the battle; he had read all the official reports that were available, and had himself after he accepted the invitation to speak, come to Gettysburg and visited every portion of the field, remaining several days, and so perfectly and completely did he pic-

ture the onset, the falling back, the desperate assault, and resistance of every corps and division, and almost every brigade of both armies, for every hour and almost every moment of those three days of desperate fighting that as he spoke one could almost see the movements. The published oration which appears in the book to which I have already referred is illustrated by a map of the field. When Mr. Everett spoke, the field itself was before and about him, and his audience, and he needed no other map. There is no better guide book to the battle of Gettysburg than Edward Everett's oration.

It would be supposed that any orator, after giving such an account of the battle, which was necessarily very extended, in such a presence, with the ablest and most brilliant men of the age about him, with the President of the United States sitting near, waiting to speak, it would be supposed, that he would then have drawn his oration to a close. Not so! Mr. Everett was the orator of the day, and he went on for another hour, every hearer interested and absorbed in the sublime sentiments he enunciated, none more so than the President.

He called to account the "hard hearted men whose cruel lust of power brought this desolating war upon the land." He showed who was responsible for all this carnage and blood, and sorrow and despair. He showed that it all came from envy and ambition, for which there was, and could be, no justification.

He pictured the dire consequences that would have followed had the enemy succeeded in that battle, which would have resulted in the overthrow of the nation and in blighting the last hope of free government.

He referred to the attempt by those who instigated the war to justify themselves by citing the rebellions of our fathers against George III, and of Cromwell against Charles I, and asked: "What would have been thought by an impartial history of the American rebellion against George III, if the colonies had been more than equally represented in Parliament, and James Otis, and Patrick Henry, and Washington, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and men of their stamp, had for two generations enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and had administered the government of the empire? What would have been thought of the rebellion against Charles I, had Cromwell and the men of his school been his advisors?" And then he showed how these men had, when they precipitated the war, control of both houses of Congress, and that not one assault had been made upon them and not one right invaded.

He showed, by citing the constitution, the supremacy given by its framers to the general government and how weak and silly was the contention that the general government was a mere "agency" of sovereign states, and how absurd was the claim of the confederates of justification for secession, when in control of both houses of Congress and everything in their own states, on the state rights theory, rights that had never been invaded nor denied.

Knowing as we did his history, how he had always, to his own disadvantage, blighting at times all hopes of political preferment, favored measures to conciliate the South, it was almost pathetic to hear Mr. Everett exclaim: "A sad foreboding of what would ensue if a war

should break out between the North and South has haunted me through life, and led me, perhaps too long to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were predetermined not to be conciliated."

It is not necessary to go further into detail of Mr. Everett's address, a glimpse of which it has been deemed proper to give, in order to place the situation clearly before us. Suffice it to say that very soon after he began to speak he rose to a lofty height of eloquence, which, constantly holding the undivided, and at times almost breathless, attention of his audience, he sustained for two hours.

I can give no young man who seeks to perfect himself in literature better advice than he make a study of that oration.

At the close of Mr. Everett's address a solemn dirge written by Mr. B. B. French, especially for the occasion, was sung by a hundred voices, after which President Lincoln was introduced to the great multitude.

When the President thus appeared, it was the first opportunity the people had to really see him. There was the usual craning of necks, the usual exclamations of "down in front," the usual crowding to get places to see, and much confusion. He waited patiently for the audience to become quiet, and there was absolute silence while he spoke. He began in those high, piercing tones, which the people of Illinois had so often heard, to which he held to the close. His was a voice which, when he made an effort, could reach a great multitude, and he always tried to make every one hear. He held in his left hand two or three pages of manuscript, toward which he glanced but once. He spoke with deliberation, but could not have continued more than three or four, some said, two minutes.

A moment's reflection will convince any one that before the great multitude of people, nearly all of whom were standing, could have prepared themselves to intelligently listen, before they had, I may say, become poised, before their thoughts had become sufficiently centered upon the speaker to take up his line of thought and follow him, he had finished and returned to his seat.

So short a time was Mr. Lincoln before them that the people could scarcely believe their eyes when he disappeared from their view. They were almost dazed. They could not possibly, in so short a time, mentally grasp the ideas that were conveyed, or even their substance. Time and again expressions of disappointment were made to me. Many persons said to me that they would have supposed that on such a great occasion the President would have made a speech. Every one thought on the words of Mr. Wills four days later, to which reference has been made, that, instead of Mr. Lincoln's delivering an address, he only made a very few "dedicatory remarks."

We on the platform heard every word. And what did we hear? A dozen commonplace sentences, scarcely one of which contained anything new, anything that when stated was not self-evident.

I am aware, because I noted it at the time, that in the Associated Press report which appeared in the morning papers, there were the punctuations of "applause," "long continued applause," etc., which was the invariable custom in those days. Except when he concluded

I did not observe it, and, at the close the applause was not especially marked. The occasion was too solemn for any kind of boisterous demonstrations.

In his "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," edited by his daughter (a very interesting book), Ward Hill Lamon, Marshal of the District of Columbia, whose position, beside being a most intimate friend, brought him into constant and close relation with the President, says:

"On the platform from which Mr. Lincoln delivered his address, and only a moment after it was concluded, Mr. Seward turned to Mr. Everett and asked him what he thought of the President's speech. Mr. Everett replied, 'It is not what I expected from him. I am disappointed.' Then, in his turn, Mr. Everett asked, 'What do you think of it, Mr. Seward?' The response was, 'He has made a failure, and I am sorry for it. His speech is not equal to him.' Mr. Seward then turned to me and asked, 'Mr. Marshal, what do you think of it?' I answered, 'I am sorry to say that it does not impress me as one of his great speeches.'"

"In the face of these facts." continues Mr. Lamon, "it has been repeatedly published that this speech was received by the audience with loud demonstrations of approval; and that amid the tears, sobs, and cheers it produced in the excited throng, the orator of the day, Mr. Everett, turned to Mr. Lincoln, grasped his hand and exclaimed, 'I congratulate you on your success!' Adding in a transport of heated enthusiasm, 'Ah, Mr. President, how gladly would I give my hundred pages to be the author of your twenty lines.'"

"As a matter of fact," Mr. Lamon goes on to say, "the silence during the delivery of the speech and the lack of hearty demonstrations of approval immediately after its close, was taken by Mr. Lincoln as certain proof that it was not well received. In that opinion we all shared. If any person then present, saw, or thought he saw, the marvelous beauties of that wonderful speech, as intelligent men in all lands now see them, his super-abundant caution closed his lips and stayed his pen."

In concluding his comments upon Mr. Lincoln's address, Mr. Nicolay in his Century article to which reference has been made, says: "They" the hearers, "were, therefore, totally unprepared for what they heard, and could not immediately realize that his words, and not those of the carefully selected orator, were to carry the concentrated thought of the occasion like a trumpet peal to farthest posterity."

My own recollection which is more clear as to occurrences in those troublous times, especially those upon that occasion, the responsibilities of which devolved in a great degree upon a board of which I was a member, coincides with that of Mr. Lamon and Mr. Nicolay. It is true as Mr. Nicolay says, the hearers were totally unprepared for what they heard, and could not immediately realize how able and far reaching was Mr. Lincoln's address. My recollection also confirms that of Mr. Lamon, that no one there present saw the marvelous beauties of that wonderful speech. I did not hear the expressions of Mr. Seward and Mr. Everett in regard to it, as my seat was with the members of our commission, but from the expressions of opinion I did hear, I have no doubt that they were made.

I heard every word and every articulation of Mr. Lincoln, and had no realization that he did anything more than make "a few dedicatory remarks." His expressions were so plain and homely, without any attempt at rhetorical periods, and his statements were so axiomatic, and, I may say matter of fact, and so simple, that I had no idea that, as an address, it was anything more than ordinary.

I was very much struck, many times as I had heard him, by the appearance of Mr. Lincoln when he arose and stood before the audience. It seemed to me that I had never seen any other human being who was so stately, and, I may say, majestic and yet benignant. His features had a sad, mournful, almost haggard, and still hopeful expression. Everyone was impressed with his sincerity and earnestness.

I asked Dr. W. E. Simonds, professor of English Literature in Knox College, to give me an idea of the character and derivation of the words in Mr. Lincoln's Gettysburg address. In the course of his reply, he says:

"In Lincoln's Gettysburg address there appears to be thirty-two words of Latin origin," which Professor Simonds names. "These," he continues, "with repetitions of the same word, or other forms of the same word, make forty-six Latin derivatives all told. There are 267 words in the address, leaving the balance, 221, Anglo-Saxon.

"That is 1-5 or 20 per cent are Latin words, while 4-5 or 80 per cent are Anglo-Saxon."

Short as is Mr. Lincoln's Gettysburg address, it contains all the elements of an elaborate and finished oration; exordium, argument, climax, and peroration. While all of these divisions far more extended in Mr. Everett's oration, they are not more marked than in Mr. Lincoln's.

In his exordium, consisting of five simple sentences, each one of which recalls a fact apparent to every hearer, he lays foundations for the superstructure upon which he builds, broad and deep.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this."

After thus laying the foundation comes the argument:

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on;" and to make the argument stronger, to clinch it, we would say, he repeats, "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great work remaining before us—that from these honored dead

we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion"; and then follows the climax: "That we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain"—and then the peroration—"that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

I want to say in passing that there was one sentence that deeply affected me—the only one in which the President manifested emotion. With the close of that sentence his lips quivered, and there was a tremor in his voice which I can never forget. I recall it whenever I consider the address. The sentence was: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."

The words "of the people, by the people and for the people," were not original with Mr. Lincoln. There was considerable comment at the time upon his using them, which went so far that it was insinuated that he was guilty of wilful plagiarism—that he took them from Webster's reply to Hayne. The matter was thoroughly investigated by Lamon, Nicolay, and others, and it was found that the phrase had been so often used as to become common property. It appears substantially as Mr. Lincoln used it in Webster's reply to Hayne, 1830; in a work by James Douglas, in 1825, and in the Rhetorical Reader by James Porter in 1830. The phrase was used by Theodore Parker in an anti-slavery convention at Boston, May, 1850; and substantially the same phrase was used by Joel Parker in the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1853. Long before Mr. Lincoln used the phrase it was used in other languages. The first appearance of this phrase, so far as it has been possible to ascertain, was in the preface to the Eld Wyclif Bible, translated before 1384, when that bright "morning star of the reformation" died, which declares that "This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people."

On the next day after it was delivered, November 20th, the address appeared in full, as has been said, in every leading newspaper of the United States. Even then, those who in a high degree appreciated it, were comparatively few. Some of us who heard it, formed, as we deliberately read it, a very different idea of it from what we had when it was delivered.

We had supposed and expected that the President would, in what he said, simply dedicate that ground to the sacred purpose for which it had been set apart. As we read, it gradually dawned upon us that the chief executive of a great nation had solemnly dedicated those who heard him, and not merely those who heard him, but all his people to the cause for which the martyr heroes about him died, and that this was the underlying thought and object of his address. Besides this, we saw that the attention of the country had been drawn, in the most striking manner, to the foundation of the nation, and how, and when, and why, it was established, and to the sublime purpose of "our fathers in bringing it forth upon this continent." The country was made to see that the great Civil war, still going on, was

waged for the purpose of testing whether, not only that nation, but "whether any nation so conceived and so dedicated, could long endure," and that it was for us to be dedicated to the work remaining to be done. This central thought was in a few terse sentences so engraved upon the hearts of all that it could not be effaced; and, after all this, the splendors, and glories, and worth to the people at large, and the peril of that nation and of all free government, were held up and depicted before us by the closing sentence, that the "government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

As was the case with others, Mr. Everett, when he read the address, began to realize (not so fully as afterwards) something of its merits. On the following day, in a note to the president, mostly about other matters, he said:

"Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thought expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came so near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

But, even then, while our people began, in some degree, to appreciate the high character of the address, we did not realize how sublime it really was. Not until it had been read and commented upon on the other side of the Atlantic, did we place it in our own minds among the masterpieces. I recollect distinctly how I was impressed upon seeing a quotation from the "Edinburg Review" stating that no other address except that of Pericles, made in eulogy of the heroes of the Peleponesian war, could begin to compare with it. The London "Spectator," the "Saturday Review," and several other English periodicals spoke of it in the highest terms of commendation. These commendations, in some degree opened our eyes to its merits.

In recalling these eulogies of the address, and the expressions of appreciation of its author which appeared in foreign prints, I am reminded of the lines:

> "A man in whom his neighbors see
> One like themselves of common mould,
> May, to the thoughtful stranger be,
> Among the great and wise enrolled.
> In Vishnu, clowns a shepherd saw—
> Gods viewed the Lord of All, with awe."

In human achievement that which is greatest in proportions is not always the most sublime. A traveler who had visited the mighty structures along the Nile, the pyramids, the temples, the palaces, the tombs, surpassing in grandeur any others that have so far as we know in all the ages, been reared, at last found himself in a little city of southern Europe, standing upon an eminence before a structure so limited in extent and amplitude as not to compare in these regards with the mighty edifices whose grandeur had so filled his mind with wonder and awakened in his bosom emotions that overwhelmed him. He was standing upon the Acropolis at Athens and contemplating the Parthenon. In his travels and study he had gained sufficient knowledge of architecture to be a connoisseur. As he made more careful examination and study of the wonderful temple, its splendors and

sublimity gradually dawned upon him. He found that in every element of its construction, in form, in grace and beauty and strength, and character, and in the nobility and grandeur of all its appointments, it far surpassed everything he had hitherto seen, every other architectural achievement upon the face of the earth. In this conclusion he was and is confirmed by the general concensus of opinion of the world.

Philosophers and sages, men of literary culture who have explored the labyrinths, stood upon the heights and basked in the glories of the sublime creations of Demosthenes, Pericles and Cicero, of Burke and Pitt and Brougham, of Webster, Sumner and Everett, and in the elaborate and finished triumphs in oratory of all the ages, are moved with similar emotions to those of this traveler in contemplating Lincoln's Gettysburg address. By universal consent it has become the Parthenon of oratorical creation.

In the region round about Athens, marble, cement and clay and everything necessary to the construction of an edifice are as abundant and cheap as the sods upon the prairie. To those commonplace materials the inspired architect gave form and beauty and strength and life. Out of a few, simple, plain, commonplace sentences familiar to all, President Lincoln constructed an oration that will be the wonder and admiration of the world for all time—the crowning triumph of literary achievement.

## 12. THE CHICAGO DRAINAGE CANAL AND ITS FOREBEAR, THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL.

(By Hon. Alexander J. Jones)

It will no doubt be a surprise to those who have given this subject but a cursory examination, to learn that the project for a canal to connect the great lakes with the Rivers and the Gulf of Mexico to the south, had its origin more than 230 years ago.

The Catholic fathers were the earliest missionaries to this western country, and the romantic and heroic wanderings of Joliet, LaSalle, and Marquette, from the south and from Canada, through the great lake regions, are a matter of common knowledge to every student of the history of Illinois. But few recall, or even were aware, that authentic records show that Father Joliet, in his verbal account to Father Dablon, previous to 1674, dilated upon the possibilities of a canal from Lake Michigan to the south. As early as August 1, 1674, when the very ownership of the great west was still a matter of international conjecture and uncertainty, Father Dablon, in a letter commenting upon the explorations of Joliet, says "According to the researches and explorations of Joliet, we can easily go to Florida in boats and by a very good navigation, with slight improvements. There will be but one canal to make—and that by cutting only one half a league of prairie from the lake of the Illinois into the St. Louis river.

I will say that at that date, and by all writers and explorers, Lake Michigan was known as the Lake of Illinois, and the Illinois river as the St. Louis river.

This letter of Father Dablon, commenting upon the explorations of Father Joliet, written 232 years ago, continues, "A bark could be built on Lake Erie, which is near Lake Ontario, and could pass easily from Lake Erie to Lake Huron and from there enter the Lake of the Illinois," or Lake Michigan as we now understand it. "At the extremity of this Lake would be the cut or canal of which I have spoken, for a passage to the St. Louis river which empties into the Mississippi. The bark having entered this river, could easily sail to the Gulf of Mexico."

Eight years later, or in 1682, LaSalle describes the condition of the divide in Chicago and the Illinois river, and refers to it as the "portage of Checagou." Checagou as you understand, was originally a fort, deriving its name from an Indian chief and a tribe of this

name. Continuing, LaSalle, at that remote date, when the waters of the Lake were doubtless slightly higher than at the present time, described this divide or "portage of Checagou" as follows: "This is an isthmus of land at 41 degrees, 50 minutes, north latitude, at the west of the Illinois Lake, and it is reached by the channel formed by the junction of several rivulets or meadow ditches. It is navigable from the Lake for about two leagues, to the edge of the prairie. Here there is a little lake divided by a causeway made by the beavers." The report continues to recite how this little lake empties alternately and simultaneously into Lake Michigan and the tributary of the Illinois river. Closing, he says, "The river of Checagou does the same thing in the spring when its channel is full. It empties a part of its waters into the Lake of Illinois and a part of them to the southward, by which vessels can enter the Checagou river and descend to the Illinois and to the sea."

After this epoch there is a long silence as to the Illinois and Michigan Canal. For the next hundred years dreams of commercial possibilities vanished in the internal struggles with the Indians and international wars, all followed by the Revolutionary War. At the end of this period, however, on August 3rd, 1795, after the birth of the American Republic, a general treaty of peace revived this question in a conference with the Indians "to put an end to a destructive war and settle all controversies." The Indians owned the territory surrounding Lake Michigan, fourteen tracts of land, one of which, six miles square, was "at the mouth of the Chicago river" where a small fort then stood.

In this treaty there was this clause which may be considered as the first official suggestion of a canal across the Chicago Divide. "And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, from the mouth of Chicago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi."

On January 14, 1819, the Honorable John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War of the United States, recommended to Congress the propriety of constructing canals, with a view to seconding military operations in time of war. He especially recommended a canal from the Illinois river to Lake Michigan, and transmitted with his recommendation, a report made by Major Stephen H. Long, of the Government Service. in which it was stated that a canal connecting the waters of the Illinois river with Lake Michigan might be considered the first in importance, the construction of which would be attended with very little expense compared with the magnitude of the object.

The first really practical step toward the construction of a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river was the execution of a treaty with the Indians by which a strip of land about twenty miles wide, extending through the Desplaines and Illinois valleys, from Chicago to Ottawa, was ceded to the United States Government. This treaty was negotiated at St. Louis, August 24, 1816, by Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, William Clark, Governor of

Missouri, Territory and Colonel Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis. By this treaty the Indians ceded all the land "which lies south of a due west line from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river;" and they moreover ceded to the United States all the land contained within the following bounds: "Beginning on the left bank of the Fox river of Illinois, ten miles above the mouth of the said Fox river; thence running so as to cross Sandy creek, ten miles above its mouth; thence in a direct line to a point ten miles north of the west end of the portage, between Chicago creek, which empties into Lake Michigan and the River Desplaines, a fork of the Illinois; thence in a direct line to a point on Lake Michigan ten miles northward of the mouth of the Chicago creek; thence along the lake to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of Chicago creek; thence in a direct line to a point on the Kankakee ten miles above its mouth; thence with the said Kankakee and the Illinois rivers to the mouth of Fox river, and thence to the beginning."

For this land the Indians received "a considerable quantity of merchandise," and an agreement that they would receive annually for twelve years, goods to the value of $1000.00. The grant contained 9,911,411 acres and included the present site of Chicago. Governor Edwards said afterwards in a communication to the State Legislature that he personally knew that the Indians were induced to believe that the opening of a canal through these lands would be very advantageous to them, and that, under authorized expectations that a canal would be constructed, they ceded the land for a trifle. On this fact the governor based an argument for the early inception of the work, saying: "Good faith, therefore, towards these Indians, as well as the concurring interests of the State and of the Union, seems to require that the execution of this truly national object should not be unnecessarily delayed, and nothing is more reasonable than that the expense should be defrayed out of the proceeds of the very property which was so ceded for the express purpose of having it done."

In the House of Representatives at Washington, on April 3, 1818, when the question of the admission of the Territory of Illinois to statehood was under discussion, Nathaniel Pope, delegate to Congress offered an amendment which carried the boundary further north. The object, he said, was to gain for the proposed state, a coast on Lake Michigan. This would afford additional security to the perpetuity of the Union, inasmuch as the state would thereby be connected with the states of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York through the lakes. The facility of opening a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river was acknowledged by everyone who had visited the place. Giving to Illinois the port of Chicago, embraced in the proposed limits, would draw the attention of the state to the opening of the communication between the Illinois river and that place, and to the improvement of that harbor. The amendment was agreed to and Illinois gained both Chicago and the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Illinois became a state in 1818. Daniel P. Cook, a son-in-law of Governor Edwards, was its second Representative in Congress, serving from 1819 to 1827. He devoted himself assiduously to the interests of the proposed canal. Through his influence, the Illinois State

Legislature of 1820-21, had a partial survey of the route made, sufficient to demonstrate the practicability of the undertaking. A report of this survey was laid before Congress by Mr. Cook on December 7, 1821, with this resolution: "That the committee on public lands be instructed to inquire whether any, and, if any, what provision is necessary to be made to enable the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands to connect the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois river."

A few days later the matter was brought to the attention of the Senate by Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois, who presented, on December 19, 1821, a resolution adopted by the Illinois State Legislature, praying to be authorized to construct a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois river, and asking for the donation of a certain quantity of land for that purpose. This was referred to the committee on Roads and Canals.

Resolutions and debates at last begun to bear fruit, although at first of doubtful quality. In the House on January 14, 1822, Christopher Rankin, of Missouri, for the committee on Public Lands, to whom the matter had been referred, finally reported a bill authorizing the State of Illinois, to open a canal through the public lands; and a similar bill was introduced in the Senate on January 24, 1822, by Mr. Thomas. Having passed both houses, it became a law on March 30, 1822. The Act reserved ninety feet of land on each side of the canal from any sale to be made by the United States. "The use thereof forever," said the bill, "shall be, and the same is hereby, vested in the said State for a canal, and for no other purpose whatever; on condition, however, that, if the said State does not survey and direct by law said canal to be opened, and return a complete map thereof, to the Treasury Department, within three years from and after the passage of this Act; or, if the said canal be not completed suitable for navigation, within twelve years thereafter; or, if said ground shall ever cease to be occupied by, and used for, a canal suitable for navigation, the reservation and grant hereby made shall be void and of none effect."

The passage of this bill was the final legislative action to which the State of Illinois owes the ultimate completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Following this Federal Legislation, many different acts were passed, repealed and repassed by the State of Illinois, appointing, from time to time, various commissions, investing them with the power and duty of construction. Much of the work was abortive and uncertain, and many years passed before substantial progress was really made in the construction of the canal. The subject was up in nearly every General Assembly of the State of Illinois for twenty years, but the great public interest in the enterprise never waned for a moment. Large tracts of land contained in the grant for canal purposes were sold in Chicago and along the right of way at many different periods. For a time, between 1831 and 1835, there was a sentiment of discouragement, and an effort was made in the General Assembly of Illinois. to secure the construction of a railroad instead of a canal. This method was advocated by many of the leading men of the State, but met with practically no encouragement from the

people. Congress, in 1827 and again in 1833, extended the time limit for commencing the canal, and its time for completion finally to 1852.

Governor Duncan of Illinois, convened the General Assembly of the State in special session on December 7, 1835, for the purpose of hastening the construction of the canal, and escaping the threatened forfeiture of all grants made by the federal government for this work. In his message he stated, "The sale of the alternate sections in the canal reservation in June last furnished the clearest evidence that the land in that reservation and the town lots in Chicago, owned by the State, may be safely estimated at from one to three millions of dollars, and as the work of the canal progresses, that with judicious management a sum may be ultimately realized sufficient to cover the whole expense of the contemplated canal.

On the opening of the next General Assembly, December 5, 1836, the Governor complimented the public on the fact that contracts had already been entered into for the construction of several sections of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Numerous reports of engineers, as to plans, many differing in essential respects, were made from time to time, but the actual work continued intermittently during a long period.

At about this time about $1,355,755.00 of State lots were sold in the City of Chicago and adjacent thereto, for the benefit of the canal. At about the same time, the Board of Canal Commissioners made a report estimating that the total cost of the construction of the canal would be $7,621,422.57. By December, 1838, official reports showed the canal work to be progressing favorably, and the commission busy solving the difficult problems affecting the construction work on the well known Summit Level. From Marseilles to the western terminal of the canal, but particularly below Ottawa, a large portion of the earthwork had been finished. Numerous sections, however, were still in an incomplete condition. For several months during this year, from 2,000 to 3,000 men were continuously employed in construction work. The annual report of December 1837, shows that the real difficulties of the canal's construction were encountered in an immense amount of rock excavation on what is known as the Summit Ridge.

On December 8, 1842, when the sum of $4,800,000.00 had been expended, on canal construction, with the work still far from finished, there was renewed agitation for the abandonment of the work; but Governor Thomas Ford stood like a stalwart at the bar and declined to permit this public work to be abandoned. The stirring message of the Governor on this occasion again revived the enthusiasm of the State and of both branches of the General Assembly, and the work was ordered once more to continue. Due provision was made for meeting these expenditures by the issuing of bonds and the sale of canal and State lands ceded for this purpose.

Finally, the month of April, 1848, saw the completion and the opening for navigation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. On the 24th of April that year, the Board of Commissioners, while in session in Chicago, received a report from the Chief Engineer, stating that navigation was open, and that the first boat, the General Fry, had passed

over the Summit Level from Lockport to Chicago on the 10th of April, and that the first boat which had passed through the entire length of the canal from La Salle to Chicago, was the General Thornton, on the 23rd of April, 1848.

It was a matter of great congratulation during this year that sugar from New Orleans, brought by the General Thornton to Chicago, was received at Buffalo, by way of Mackinaw, on April 30th, some two weeks before a like cargo from New Orleans reached Buffalo by the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic and the Erie Canal.

The canal was now completed to its first usefulness, but during the decades of its construction the tragedies of the century were being enacted. In 1832 the Indian wars spread to the west, and the bloody massacres of the Black Hawk War thrilled the nation. In the struggle that followed, this tribe was swept from the face of the earth—and yet it was the progenitors of Black Hawk who negotiated the first treaty with the whites, ceding the domain for the construction of the canal, in order that the red man might ply his canoe upon its surface and seek his heritage of game. When the first boat ascended and descended the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the red man had passed forever from the position of power or consideration in the State of Illinois; but history must record that his co öperation was obtained and necessary in the early stages of the great waterway that is soon to connect the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1865, provisions were made for the further deepening of the canal across Summit Level, and this work was done during the following three years.

In the latter days of the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the sewage problem of the city of Chicago was becoming one of the great public questions. Shortly after, arrangements were made by which the flow of the Chicago river, by a system of pumping was diverted into the canal at Bridgeport, and the sewage carried from the lake down the Illinois valley through the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

As year after year passed, the menace to public health of the citizens of Chicago, by the flowage of many sewers into the lake, the source of water supply, became so great that public meetings were held to discuss the advisability of a specially constructed drainage canal to reverse the flow of the Chicago river, to intercept all its sewers, and to carry the output through the divide and down to the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Commissions were appointed by the General Assembly to devise methods for the attainment of this object, and finally, in 1889, after numerous conferences and as the result of a waterway convention represented by citizens of nearly of all the Mississippi valley states, a plan was proposed for the creation of a municipality to be known as the Sanitary District of Chicago. The law was so framed as to provide that this channel should be constructed for the dual object of a sewerage outlet and a deep waterway connecting the Great Lakes with the Illinois and Mississippi rivers and the Gulf of Mexico. Its limits were defined by the County Court of Cook County and it was adopted by the people of the proposed district at the November election in 1889. Since that date, its limits, by acts of

the Legislature, have been so enlarged as to include the entire city of Chicago and all additional territory in the same natural drainage basin. It now includes 358 square miles, with a population of 2,100,000.

The requirements of the law were that there should be a flow in this channel equivalent to 20,000 cubic feet of water per minute for every 100,000 inhabitants of said district. Under the law, it was, at the opening, to have a minimum flow of not less than 300,000 cubic feet of water per minute, and the law provides that through the rock sections the channel should have double this capacity, with a depth of not less than eighteen feet of water and a width of not less than 160 feet. The object of this extensive improvement through the rocky strata was to provide initially a channel of sufficient depth, width, and other requirements for a deep waterway connecting the great lakes with the rivers of the south and the Gulf of Mexico. The Sanitary District has gone farther and provided a navigable depth of from 22 to 24 feet.

The expenditures of the sanitary and ship canal of Chicago, up to this date, amount in total, including the expenditures for water power development, to nearly $50,000,000. Of this sum, over $20,000,000 have been expended to comply with the provision of the law in securing through the rock sections the width and depth necessary for the great commercial waterway. Had the consideration of a waterway been ignored, about $22,000,000 would have been saved to the taxpayers of the Sanitary District. But this great work has been launched, the taxes have been cheerfully paid for the dual object to be obtained, and the conditions are now ripe for the co-operation of the Federal Government in completing this work from Lockport to the south through the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.

Incidental to this great work has been the development of a valuable water power. the work of utilization occupying largely the past two years. The Channel has been extended to a point below Lockport and elaborate plans made for the ultimate development of the complete flow of the Sanitary District. It is estimated by Chief Engineer Isham Randolph and Electrical Engineer Edward B. Ellicott that the ultimate flow of 750,000 cubic feet of water per minute, coming through the Main Channel after the completion of the Calumet and Evanston channels, will give an electrical force, net at Chicago, of 31,472 horse power. This is of great commercial value and will probably be used for the lighting of the municipalities of Chicago and the surrounding country, and the running of municipal machinery and factories in the vicinity, during the day.

For a little over two years a commission of United States Engineers has been engaged under the direction of the United States Government and by act of Congress, in making an exhaustive survey to determine the cost of a fourteen foot channel from the southern terminus of the Drainage Canal to St. Louis. This report has just been presented to the War Department and finds that for the sum of $31,000,000 the entire Illinois river can be permanently improved and an additional channel constructed from Grafton to St. Louis, necessary

to transport all vessels of a fourteen foot draught. This matter is now pending in Congress, a bill recently having been introduced by Representative William Lorimer of Chicage and endorsed by all the deep waterway conventions of the west, providing for the appropriation by the Federal Government of $31,000,000 for this purpose.

THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI CHANNEL.

Adequate plans have for years been under discussion as to the improvement for deep waterway purposes, of the navigation of the Mississippi river, in such manner as to secure during the entire year a constant flow of water sufficient to maintain, with certainty, a 14 foot channel to the City of New Orleans. The plan most under discussion has been to control the flood waters of the Mississippi annually, in the spring, by the construction of extensive storage basins in the Valley of the Mississippi, south of Cairo and west of the Mississippi in what is known as the St. Francis basin.

At the meeting of the Western Society of Engineers, a little over five years ago, this matter was fully discussed. James A. Seddon, a well-known member of this society, has made extensive surveys and studies in relation to this project, and it has been favorably discussed for many years at the general meetings of the societies of engineers of the nation.

The site for the reservoirs to control the necessary flow of water during the freshet seasons, and for use later during the dry season of the year in maintaining the depth of the Mississippi, would be largely the unreclaimed lands in the St. Francis basin. It is proposed to divide up this basin by a series of cross levees, so that flood water may be impounded by a series of moderate earth embankments, and the rupture of one of these banks would not entail any serious danger to life and property. This series of reservoirs is to be filled from the top of floods through controlling works near Cairo. It is proposed to discharge these reservoirs from the power end of the basin, near Helena, Arkansas, during the low water season, and it is considered that thereby not less than 20 feet of water if necessary could be produced and maintained at all times between Helena and the Gulf of Mexico. Of course under the pending project for an initial channel of only 14 feet, this great depth of 20 feet, would not be immediately necessary, and the cost of the reservoirs could be materially reduced.

The plan of Mr. Seddon provides that at the head of this system of reservoirs the outlet for drawing off the flood waters would be located. For this a line of movable dams on the west bank of the Mississippi, just above its junction with the Ohio, would be required. The base of these would be set at about the level of 30 feet on the Cairo gauge, or altogether above the sand movement in the bed of the river; and they should have a range of some 10 or 15 feet in their adjustable crests, fitting them both to fill the reservoirs from the flood periods of any year, or to draw off the extreme excesses of the occasional great flood.

Without the topography of this basin the capacity of such a reservoir system can, of course, only be roughly estimated. But, covering

as it does an area of some 4,000 square miles, or about two-thirds of the flooded lands on the west in this division, it is plain that every foot added to the height of the levees is an immense addition to this capacity.

By this system ample provision is made likewise for emptying these reservoirs in the spring of the year and when impending overflow of the Mississippi river becomes apparent.

Mr. Seddon says that in this connection it should be noted that while it takes a rise some four days to pass from Cairo to Helena by the river, the slack water system can take any difference in discharge over this interval instantly. In addition to the week or ten days in which the promise of a great flood was in sight from Cairo, there would also be these four more days in which to run out the reservoirs at Helena. By being careful, then, not to take more water from the earlier periods than might be necessary to insure full reservoirs, in every case almost, if not quite, the full capacity of the system could certainly be counted on to draw off simply the excesses of the great floods.

These exhaustive plans, discussed by the Western Society of Engineers, were designed to give a reservoir capacity in the St. Francis basin for the maintenance of a maximum draught much greater than the fourteen foot channel now contemplated by the legislation pending in Congress. It is believed, however, by many that the 14 foot channel will provide the adequate depth for the great commerce of the lakes and the Mississippi valley, and it is particularly realized now that the coming construction of the Panama canal makes a deep waterway from the great lakes to the Mississippi of far greater commercial importance than ever in the past history of the country.

Numerous conventions have been held within the past year and the sentiment seems unanimously crystallized in the Valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries in favor of this deep waterway. Illinois and Chicago, in the construction of the great Drainage Canal and the Illinois and Michigan Canal, have done their part, and the sentiment at Washington seems to be that Congress recognizes this fact and that early legislation for the consummation of this great work may be expected.

## 13. SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN ILLINOIS.

(By Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.)

As I understand it, I was asked to speak of the rise and growth of the social settlement movement in the State of Illinois. It makes one feel very old, to be considered an historic document, as it were! We have been accustomed so long to think of the social settlements as one of the pioneer forces, at least in the matter of their organization and social advancement, that it comes to me with something of a shock to realize that we are sixteen years old, and have for better or worse, made our history in the State.

Albert Shaw, who perhaps more than any other man in America has studied the historic growth and development of cities, said last year, at the St. Louis Exposition, that in a very real sense the European cities were as "new" as the American cities, that London and Paris, the cities on the Rhine, even St. Petersburg and Moscow, were new in that they had little to do with the mediæval cities which lay back of them, and that they were faced by problems which were the result of the present industrial organization of cities. These new cities begun with the industrial revolution at the end of the 18th century. People are coming in from the country in all directions and living in great masses because they are being brought together in response to the newer methods of business, and newer methods of manufacturing. There is the same social problem all over the world, to be found in these cities of industrial origin. The social life of these cities was made more difficult from the fact that no one was looking out for their social organization. The politicians who were responsible for the charters, and for the administration of the laws, were of course more or less alert for changes in governmental machinery, but no one was doing the same thing for those institutions upon which the social life of the cities might develop. We know, of course, that Moscow has grown more rapidly during the last twenty-five years than New York, that Berlin has grown more rapidly than Chicago. We like to say that one reason affairs are so bad in American cities, as we have to admit they are, is because of their rapid growth, until we consider that other cities, all over the world, have grown quite as rapidly, and more rapidly, than American cities; and what is needed is groups of people who shall make it their effort to find out wherein the cities lack, publish the facts and make clear

HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

the situation in the more crowded quarters, where the lack of social organization is most keenly felt, that the citizens as a whole may see to it that needed changes are brought about.

Now, something of this sort, I take it, a settlement group undertakes to do. A group of people move into a quarter of the city which lacks many things, because the people are newly emigrated to this country, because they are bound down with the necessity of earning their daily bread during the long hours of work, and have very little leisure or intelligence to give to the larger social needs, because they do not intend to live long in that part of the city, and are trying to save money in order to pull out and move somewhere else, and so take little interest in it—for a dozen of reasons perhaps, certain quarters of the city fail to keep up with the rest, and they tend to pull back in the general progress. Now settlements move into such a quarter consciously, meaning to give to it their very best efforts in the way of investigation, and in the way of healing, and more than anything else perhaps hoping to uncover resources of civic power and ability in the neighborhood itself.

When I speak of the first settlement in Illinois, I am obliged to speak of Hull House first because it was founded first, and, though it sounds somewhat conceited, I suppose chronology is very important with an historical association.

Hull House was opened in the fall of 1889. My friend, Miss Starr and myself discovered this old house on the corner of Polk and Halsted streets, in the 19th ward of Chicago, just about a mile from the post office building.

In every large city, right back of the business quarter, there is a tendency for people to gather who do casual work. The men who have intermittent work, in unloading cars, or on the docks, the men who do janitor service in the large downtown buildings, the men who carry packages, and the teamsters and deliverymen, all naturally wish to live near their business, simply because it is irregular, and therefore get right back of the business quarter. So that every city, so far as I know, London, and the European cities, and the American cities, all have this quarter of poorer people adjacent to the business districts. In such a district property is held provisionally because people are sure business is coming in there, and so there is no need of making improvements, and as a result of this, paving, lighting, and sewerage do not advance, because it is considered a mere matter of a few years until the business interests occupy it. The whole situation from the civic standpoint is low. Such conditions prevail in a general way in the eastern half of the 19th ward, and the three other river wards which lie back of the business quarter of Chicago. There were only two of us to begin with. Gradually other people came, and now the settlement numbers thirty-four residents, with perhaps 100 people who come once a week for evening clubs or classes. The average attendance in a winter week is 7,000 people, counting those who belong to something, in the way of clubs, classes or social organizations. We have a group of buildings which have developed year after year, so

that we now have a little group of ten buildings, one containing the gymnasium and shops, another being the children's house, a third the woman's club building, and so forth.

I hardly know where we can attach ourselves to the history of the State, save perhaps in one or two investigations which may have aided legislation. After we had lived there a very little while we became much impressed with the evils of the sweatshop system. In 1889 there were no laws regulating the sweatshop industries, and practically no factory law at that time in the State of Illinois, although Illinois stood third among the states of the union in the point of its manufactured products. We still had a fiction that Illinois was solely an agricultural state. There was no child labor law, except one pertaining to children in mines, and another which had no method of enforcing a penalty, and no officers to administer it. We found children of all ages going to work whenever it suited the convenience of their parents, and many of them coming to grief from premature labor. We found many newly imported Italians and others working in sweatshops for phenomenally low wages, with no regulations as to the sanitary conditions under which they were working. We took up the agitation naturally along this line of the most glaring evils. Mrs. Kelley, who at that time lived in the house, received a commission from the State Bureau of Labor to make an investigation into the sweatshops. It ended in a committee being appointed from the Illinois Legislature in the winter of 1891 and 1892, to go into the subject more thoroughly, and their report finally resulted in the first real factory law of the State of Illinois, which went into operation July 1, 1893, and Mrs. Kelley was appointed the first factory inspector. Mrs. Stevens was her deputy and there were twelve inspectors. We can, I think, claim some credit for Hull House, though of course many other forces joined the agitation, for the passage of this first law which attempted to regulate the sweating system. The law has since been simplified into a full grown factory law, which compares favorably with that of older states.

We can also claim a little credit for bringing to light, from time to time, some of the facts connected with child labor. It seems so easy, when one does not know the children, to assume it is a good thing for a child to go to work early. In the country it is a good thing for the child perhaps, with a variety of employment and under healthy conditions. But in a city, with long hours and monotonous work, it is a very different matter. We have been able to trace the lives of children, year after year, and to follow out little histories which have proved very convincing, in the matter of child labor agitation. One year, in connection with the municipal lodging house in Chicago, we found many tramps who were worn out at the age of 17 or 18, because they had gone to work too early. I remember one boy, dying of tuberculosis, who seemed to have worked very steadily from the time he was nine. He had worked in Pittsburg, I am happy to say, not in Illinois, until he was thirteen. He then contracted typhoid fever and made a poor recovery, after which he "laid off steady work" and began to go around with shows, trying to get some of the pleasure denied

him in young boyhood. He could not endure this sort of life long, and he died with tuberculosis at the age of seventeen. That sort of historycan be duplicated over and over again if one follows the children who take the strength which should go into growth and put it into premature labor. I instance these things to show the service a settlement may perform in the way of getting accurate information in regard to its neighbors.

John Morly says that social progress must always depend upon the initiative of groups of people who are touched with the unimproved condition of things and who make it their business to appeal to public sentiment as a whole, concerning that unimproved condition. When the public is aroused and understands the situation that it is a mere matter of time until conditions will improve.

We have done some investigation for the United States Labor Bureau, and for the United States Department of Agriculture. One such investigation was concerning the food of the Italians. We discovered Italians were eating foods not at all adapted to a cold climate, and were paying very high prices for imported foods; because no one had initiated them into the foods they could buy more cheaply, and which would suit their changed conditions better. I could name several other investigations, but this is but one side of settlement activity.

I have said little of the philanthropic, the educational or of the more strictly social side of the settlement for perhaps in a State meeting these broader issues are more germane.

Hull House was followed by a settlement established by the Northwestern University in 1891. Mr. Charles Zeublin, whom many of you know as a university extension lecturer, was a resident there, and hoped to provide a center from which the students of the Northwestern might test their moral enthusiasms and sociological theories. It has grown rapidly, and although it lived for ten years in rented buildings, it is now housed in a very charming building of its own, built in 1901.

The Maxwell street settlement was established by a group of Jewish young men, largely graduates of Harvard, who had been interested in the settlements in the east. In 1903, the year in which there was a great influx of immigrants among the Russian Jews, they went into the midst of the Russian Jewish quarter. The Baron de Hirsch fund, part of which was spent in Chicago, seemed utterly inadequate to keep the immigrants from actual distress through their first months of experience in their adopted country. The settlement tried to assist them after that first period of adjustment, and to induct them into the civic and industrial side of American life. It has had a very vigorous life and is about to finish a new house.

The Forward Movement is a settlement opened in 1903 in the ward next to Hull House. It grew out of the efforts of Dr. Gray and his brother. The former had a very large dispensary practice among the casual-labor men, who are now cared for largely in the municipal lodging house, but at that time they had no free lodging place except the police stations. I well recall the impressive funeral service on the death of Dr. Gray, which was attended by hundreds of these

men, who are not quite tramps, but are so unskilled they are only drawn into the industrial system at the times of the year when there is plenty of work to do, and they are sure to encounter a precarious living for some weeks at least out of every year. His brother, who is a Methodist minister, has developed the nucleus of Dr. Gray's work into the settlement called The Forward Movement. Among other activities they conduct large fresh air work every summer at Saugatuck Park on the other side of Lake Michigan. They are very hospitable and all the settlements send people there. It has developed into something between a summer school and a fresh air camp. The crippled children from the public schools are sent there every year.

The Chicago Commons was opened in 1894. I am sure many of you know of Dr. Graham Taylor, and of the fine work that is being carried on at Chicago Commons. He came to Chicago from the East, as a professor of sociology in the Chicago Theological Seminary. He insisted from the first that the young men under his charge must know the city, and become familiar with the poorer quarters, maintaining that it was more or less a disgrace to the protestant ministry that while many churches were established in the comfortable quarters, but little religious provision was made by the protestant churches for the poorest quarters of the city. He finally established a settlement where he could carry on more thoroughly his careful study of the industrial quarters and their needs. The Commons has been no mean factor, I think you will all agree with me, in the civic life of Chicago. Dr. Taylor himself has been a very active member of the Municipal Voters' League. One election at least they were able to turn in favor of a good alderman, as against a man with a reputation for corruption; and they have had a definite effect not only upon the civic and political life of their neighborhood but of the city.

They have also for many years held "free floor discussions." As you know, in Chicago there are people of various social beliefs. To my mind nothing is better than to get a very radical socialist up against a very radical individualist or a very radical single taxer. The only way you can modify a man who is radical in his social opinions is to bring him in contact with some one who is very radical in another direction. The ordinary person who is not convinced of anything very much can never modify the radical, and real modification comes only through clash of opinion. Dr. Taylor I think would agree that his free floor discussions, and at one time we had something of the same sort at Hull House, are very valuable factors in the development and modification of social thought. Workingmen are accustomed to a sharp give and take. While their discussions are quite animated, they seldom have any real animosity, although the listening public are often misled by the active discussions.

I am giving these social settlements, as you will note, in their chronological order. The University of Chicago established a settlement the same year as The Commons, in 1894, in the southwest corner of the Stock Yards District, at what they call "The back door of the stock yards." Their fortunes have been identified very largely with the large group of people who work in the stock yards, who are

composed at different times of varying immigrants. The Irish and German are being pushed out by the Italians and they in turn by the Lithuanians at present, and numbers of people from the southeastern part of Europe, with a large sprinkling of Greeks and Syrians. A group of people with Miss McDowell as head resident have lived there during ten years and have been closely identified with the fortunes of their neighbors. The Sociological Department of the University of Chicago has made some studies there. The Settlement has seen at least two groups of labor organizations rise and fall in the stock yards. They were able to give some very substantial service to the situation during the stock yards strike a year ago. A settlement does not take sides in a labor difficulty, neither does it desert its friends when they are in the midst of a labor trouble; and I think Miss McDowell had the respect and the good will of both sides in the very bitter controversy in the stock yards, from the fact that she was able to stand somewhat as a third party during that long and trying contest. As you will note, I am speaking of these settlements in a most superficial way, as there is not time to talk of them in detail, and I must assume that you know that all of them have a certain round of educational and social activities which I do not mention in each case.

The Eli Bates House was opened in 1895. It was a settlement on Goose Island in the northern part of the city. It was started years ago as an industrial school, by Mr. Eli Bates, and was known as the Elm Street Industrial School, but was re-organized as a settlement in 1895. They found, among other things, that the Irish boys of the neighborhood formed themselves into street gangs, through sheer lack of anything to interest them. By giving them industrial work and by making another side of life dramatic and interesting, they were performing a real civic service to that part of the city. They have lately received a gift of a beautiful boys' club building and the settlement is developing in many directions. When I touch on the boys' side of the work more than on another, it is not because the other activities are lacking.

Fellowship House was started by All Souls' Church the same year, gathering around a visiting nurse work, although it is now doing a general settlement work.

Neighborhood House was started by Mrs. Van Der Vaart in 1896, and has been from the start largely managed and financed by the immediate neighborhood. They are coöperating now in a very interesting way with the adjacent small parks. The south side park commissioners have opened twelve small parks which are equipped with park houses. These are supplied with baths, gymnasiums, lecture halls, and rooms for general social purposes. The settlements are most happy to turn their energies into coöperating with such an undertaking and to be identified with these larger public measures. No settlement wants to build up a big institution of its own, but is glad to turn over as much as possible to public bodies. At Hull House, for instance, we used to have public baths. When the Health Department opened a bath within a block of the house, we were only too happy to turn all our bathers over there. We used to have a reading

room in the house, until the public library authorities became convinced it was beneficial to have one in that neighborhood, when they opened a permanent one within two blocks of the house. For ten years we have managed a playground in connection with Hull House.

We have it still, but we hope next year the west park commissioners will open a play-ground, so we may turn the children over to them, and they will be able to do much more for them. This is an illustration of what the settlements try to do. We initiate such things as seem needful, but we hold our activities in the hollow of our hands, ready to give them up at a proper opportunity. It is quite the reverse of the old story about the superintendent of the orphan asylum, who prayed the Lord to send him many orphans the next year so he could build a new wing to his asylum. We want to keep ourselves adaptable and ready to turn over to someone else what they can do better than we. In the same spirit all of the settlements are doing more or less work with the evening schools, and hope to make them more social in spirit. It is better that a public building, like a school, become a center of a neighborhood, than a quasi-private building like a settlement.

Gad's Hill Center, near the McCormick works, was opened in 1898. It is interesting because it scatters its activities through different points in the vicinity, and in some instances is able to coöperate with social organizations established by the manufacturing interests there. Gad's Hill has a beautiful country place on the north shore which was partly responsible, at least, for developing the tuberculosis camp in connection with the Visiting Nurse's Association. They too hold their activities ready to give them up, as you see.

Henry Booth House was established in 1898, and Association House of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1899. They have each had a fine new building recently erected. Armitage Avenue, a little settlement opened in 1900, although small, has accomplished some very interesting work.

The newest settlement in Chicago is the Frederick Douglass Center, which is in the colored quarter. It is believed that a house will be useful where people interested in the social and ethical development of our colored brethren may meet with the leaders of the colored race, and discuss matters which pertain to both races, instead of emphasizing the things which divide one race from another, to unite upon those which are common to both. It is rational and careful and has the confidence of the colored people, as well as some of the most intelligent people of our own race. It was opened in 1904, but Mrs. Wooley, who is living there, has always been interested in the problem of the colored people. They have, on their walls, a statement from Booker Washington:

> "I will permit no man to degrade me by making me to hate him."

which might be called the keynote of their effort.

There are six other establishments in Chicago which call themselves settlements, although some of them might better be classed as missions. I put in this classification, the Central Settlement, under the auspices of the Paulist Fathers, the Frances Willard Settlement,

which has a large day nursery and kindergarten, the Frances Clark Settlement, established by the Christian Endeavor Societies, the Marcy Home and Olivet House, both of which grew out of missions started some years ago, although at present they have incorporated many settlement activities.

There is a distinction I should like to make between a settlement and a mission, for we find that they are often confused. They are really two distinct things, and harm is done to both movements, from this mental confusion. The first settlement in London was started by Canon Barnett, who is a Canon in the Church of England, and at that time was Vicar of St. Jude's, and although he founded Toynbee Hall, he has always kept the settlement distinct from the church. He says a mission is a group of people who are committed to one point of view, a religious point of view it commonly is, although a mission might be established for single tax, for temperance, or any other one thing upon which people are deeply convinced. They go into a neighborhood, and try to persuade the people who live there to believe as they believe, and to this end, in order to increase their acquaintance, they have classes, clubs, and many of the things a settlement has, but it is all secondary as it were, for they hope in the end that they may promote their propaganda. I am ready to say a mission is a much finer thing than the settlement. It has back of it the stirring history of the Christian church for 2,000 years, and some of the most wonderful names in religious history have been identified with missions. It is therefore a distinct thing with a history and purpose of its own.

A settlement on the other hand is a group of people who go into an industrial neighborhood, not in order to convert the people living there to given religious or social beliefs but to find out, so nearly as they may, what the social and civic needs of that neighborhood are, to awaken in a neighborhood a sense of responsibility that they may demand and work for better civic, educational and industrial conditions. They do not try to disturb the people in their religious beliefs. We have coming to Hull-House people who belong to the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church, Jews both liberal and orthodox, and a sprinkling of protestants. We would not try to change their religious beliefs any more than we would try to make them all single tax advocates. Difference of belief may divide us but there are things we can unite on, such as the manifest needs of the community. We unite so far as we can. The things that make people alike are much stronger and finer than the things which make them different. This attitude is quite unlike the mission attitute of propaganda, although the activities are much the same. The mission people and the settlement people are glad to have the distinction made. To reproach a settlement because it does not give religious instruction as a mission does, or to reproach a mission for not being a settlement, is equally absurd. I am very glad to make this distinction when it comes in my way, because a certain confusion has taken place in the public mind, very unfair to both movements. The social settlements in Chicago number

about twenty. There are, I think, no settlements in the State outside of Chicago, altho there are many centers which have very much the spirit and very much the effect in the community, of settlements.

We have not as many settlements in Chicago, naturally, as they have in New York, where they are growing very rapidly. A settlement is of course in its essence a democratic movement. Whatever one may think when one first goes to live in a foreign neighborhood, of crossing a social gulf, drops away very quickly in the general comradeship which develops there, so that one looks back to the time when it seemed unnatural to live in one part of the city, rather than in another, as a thing very much of the past. At the present moment I do not know of any place more interesting than South Halsted street. There one can meet young men recently come from Russia, as I saw some a few months ago, who had broken their fingers and fore arms, in order that they may escape service in their army. These men started months ago. If a Russian Jew deserts when he is of military age his family is fined 300 rubles; but if he goes to the recruiting station and joins the army his family is freed and the sergeant is responsible. If he joins the army and escapes and then takes the precaution to break his arm or fingers, so that he cannot pull a trigger, his escape is doubly sure. These men are only now coming to Chicago, having come through Portugal and all sorts of ways to escape detection. They are now beginning to report of the first difficulties in Odessa and Kieff and other places in South Russia. It is very exciting, interesting and genuine, this thing. We have formed a little organization in Hull-House, to which various people are encouraged to bring in their letters from abroad, so that we may discern something of the actual condition of things in Russia, not as they are put in the newspapers by correspondents, but written in a friendly letter by actual friends of people here. I wish very much we had some of the ability this historical association has, to sift this evidence, for, in a sense, it is first-hand historical information. It is the event recorded as it happens, as it is being seen and felt—the sort of thing which may later be gathered into historical libraries, if indeed any of it survives. There is much work of that sort to do, for the scholar who can see life from the historical point of view, the linguist who can make some distinction between the various patois the Italians use, the anthropologist, who can trace something of life as it survives in quaint customs. For instance, the south Italian women bake their bread round, because the south of Italy was settled by the Greeks who baked bread in that form; while the north Italians bake it with a hole in the middle. There are all sorts of interesting customs which only the scholar can trace. The point of view of the man who looks at life, not from the immediate, but from the historical standpoint, is what is constantly needed in a settlement. Sometimes we feel that we ought to have more help from associations such as these. The great foreign colonies coming in ought to be recognized more by the scholars who are able to understand something of their pasts and their inherited capacities.

The Greeks are always clamoring for this recognition. I recall a striking instance of a Greek who sold fruit near the Polk street railway station. For three years, in Greece, while he was saving money to come to America, he used to make drawings of ancient Athens, of which he was very fond. He was a graduate of the Institute of Technology, and drew very well. He had collected a large book of drawings and photographs. He thought that when he came to America, where we had no ruins, that we would be interested to hear about them and would enjoy his description of the great beauty of the white columns of the Propylea against the blue sky. He said he had sold fruit to Americans for years in Chicago, and that although he often had tried to lead the conversation to his beloved Acropolis, no one had ever seemed interested. He came to the conclusion no one in Chicago had heard of ancient Greece, nor knew that it had a wonderful history. He talked to me about Greece because he happened to see a small picture of Athens at Hull House, and he thought that here at least was someone who had heard that such a place as Athens existed. That man was disappointed and Chicago was losing something he could have given to it. I did not like to tell him we had become so snobbish in America that it did not occur to a man that a shabby-looking foreigner selling apples could have his mind and heart full of the deathless beauties of ancient Greece, although that was really the matter. I said that we were always in a hurry in Chicago, and the people with whom he came in contact were probably going to trains, so that no one had time to talk about Greece; but I assured him that there were people who were really interested. One who has not come into social contact with these foreign citizens of ours can not appreciate how absorbing are the things they can tell, or the interest attaching to some of the correspondence they receive. All these things are possibilities to people who have historical taste and education. You know they used to tell us, in our school days, that Europe was waked up by the crusades, because people were brought in contact with the eastern civilization. We have a chance today in America, the other way 'round. The crusaders are coming to us, and we have this old civilization all around us, in the large groups of foreign colonies at our very doors, and we could receive the mental awakening if we saw them from the larger point of view. It is a great chance to bring us to an appreciation of the great resources of historical material which are available here, but it requires moral enterprise and a spirit of intellectual adventure, if you please, The settlements are perhaps pioneers in a movement which in time will become much more general and so large that the settlements will drop away as having been a mere formal expression of what all people will care to do later.

## 14. THE FOURTH ILLINOIS INFANTRY IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

(By Ezra M. Prince.)

War gives rise on the part of the combatants to the display of the loftiest virtues and the fiercest passions of which man is capable and, among political parties, to unrestrained praise and the most violent denunciation. The war with Mexico was no exception to this rule.

The war resulted from the annexation of Texas. The Democratic party was almost unanimously in favor of annexation; it was manifest destiny; Texans were children of the Union; honor and humanity demanded annexation. Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Tyler's Secretary of State, who as sincerely believed in the rightfulness of slavery and its economical necessity to the south as Garrison did in its sinfulness and its economic wastefulness, frankly admitted that annexation was designed to extend slavery and to enable the south to maintain its peculiar institution against the rapid increase of the north in numbers, wealth and political power and growing anti-slavery feeling by enabling it to maintain a balance of power between the north and the south in the Senate and thus prevent political encroachments by the north. Douglas stigmatized as "traitors at heart" every citizen who, after war was declared, condemned the justice of our cause.

On the other hand, Clay declared: "Annexation and war are identical." Colonel John J. Hardin, who fell at the head of the First Illinois at Buena Vista, the eloquent Whig representative in Congress from the Jacksonville district, denounced annexation as "an unwise, reckless, selfish, sectional and slavery-extending policy." The Whig Review in April, 1847, denounced "this war as the great political and moral crime of the period." The abolitionists were especially violent in their denunciations. The Western Citizen, an anti-slavery newspaper published in Chicago, March 4, 1846, denounced Stephen A. Douglas as the "most servile tool that has crawled in the slime and scum of slavery at the foot of the slave power."

Annexation was first brought up by way of a treaty, but its ratification was defeated by a vote of sixteen to thirty-five. Both of the senators from this State, Sidney Breeze and James Semple, were among the sixteen. This treaty fixed the western boundary of Texas at the Rio Grande. The treaty having failed, a joint resolution, which required only a majority vote in both houses, was introduced, providing that "Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas may

be erected into a state to be called the State of Texas," on certain conditions. This passed the House, January 25, 1845, by 120 to 97, and the Senate by a vote of 27 to 25. It was probably this radical and sudden change in the Senate that inspired Lowell's famous lines:

"A marciful Providence fashioned us holler
O' purpose that we our principles might swaller."

June 18th, the Congress of Texas unanimously assented to the joint resolution and in December a joint resolution passed Congress for the admission of Texas to the Union.

After its declaration of independence Texas claimed the Rio Grande as its western boundary, but she never occupied the territory west of the Nueces. A writer in the October, 1902, number of the Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, after a long and careful review of the authorities, says: "Neither Texas nor Louisiana extended to the Rio Grande as evidenced by undisputed documentary evidence of more than a century. While any portion of Texas was in dispute good diplomacy as well as international courtesy should have prevented the sending of any troops into the portion in question."

When the joint resolution passed Congress in January, 1845, a small force of our army, under General Taylor, was encamped in western Louisiana. President Polk on May 28, 1845, ordered Taylor to cross the Sabine and take post in Texas so as to protect it from invasion by Mexico. Taylor proceeded to Corpus Christi, on the western bank of the Nueces. January 13, 1846, Taylor was ordered to advance to the Rio Grande. With a force of about 3,600 men he proceeded to a point on its east bank opposite Matamoras where he erected a fort and trained his guns upon the Mexican town. What was certain to happen and what was undoubtedly desired by President Polk took place, a collision betwen a small force of our troops and some Mexicans, in which ten of our troops were killed and forty-five taken prisoners. When the news reached Washington, May 11th, the President sent a special message to Congress, declaring that war existed by the act of Mexico and asking for men and money to carry it on. Congress by a vote of 124 to 14 in the House and 40 to 2 in the Senate, promptly appropriated $10,000,000, and gave the President authority to call out 50,000 volunteers, of which three regiments were originally assigned to Illinois, but Edward D. Baker, then a member of Congress from the Springfield district, induced the Secretary of War to accept another regiment from this State. Of this regiment, companies A and D were from Sangamon county, B from McLean, C from Macon, E from DeWitt, F from Menard, G from Tazewell, H from Edgar, I from Logan and K from Fulton, all from the central portion of the State where the immigration from the north and south met and mingled, producing the typical American soldier.

Of the enlistment of these companies I find no extended account, except that of Company B in the first volume of the Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society (page 21), which may well stand as substantially that of all the companies, as the conditions were similar in all the other counties.

"General Asahel Gridley, who had been in the Black Hawk war, was at that time in command of the McLean county militia. He issued a call for a meeting to be held at Bloomington, June 13th, to raise the McLean county company. On that day the people came from all parts of the county, in farm wagons, on horseback and on foot, from far and near, to the meeting, which was held on a vacant lot on the southwest corner of Center and Market streets. Most of the adult male population of the county was there. General Gridley mounted a wagon and addressed the crowd in a very patriotic, vivid and flowery speech, in which he painted in glowing colors the glory the soldiers would achieve and the good times they would have in the halls of Montezuma. He urged the young men to enlist in the service of their country, attacked by the ruthless Mexican barbarian. closing with, 'Go and fight the battles of your country, as I have done. Glory awaits you. Our hearts are with you.' "

After General Gridley, John Moore of Randolph's Grove, then Lieutenant-Governor of the State, spoke. He was a large, portly man, red faced and sandy haired. He looked like an old-time farmer, honest, plain, blunt, and direct both in action and speech, he said: "General Gridley has urged you to go to the war. I do not say go; I say come. I am going, and say to you all, come with me." Then he called upon the sons of his old neighbors to enlist in this great and glorious war. Soon a full company of 103 men enlisted for six months.

The regiment rendezvoused at Camp Ford, Springfield, the companies gathering there as best they could; some marching, some hauled in farm wagons, and some on foot, accompanied by farm wagons to haul any that became footsore or otherwise disabled.

Company B of McLean county had enlisted for six months. On arriving at Springfield they learned that the government only received those enlisting for nine months. Nearly a third of the company, having already got enough of soldiering, refused to enlist for nine months, and returned home. Their places were quickly taken by a squad of men from Macoupin county. Those marked on the Adjutant General's report as enrolled June 13 were from McLean, and those of June 26 were from Macoupin. Company K, Captain Ross, did not join the regiment until it reached St. Louis. At Camp Ford the regiment was inspected and examined by Dr. Merriman and mustered into the United States service. Of these men, Colonel Baker, in a speech in Congress, December 28, 1846, said: "The regiment, 820 young, hardy, gallant, ambitious, adventurous and bold: of these at least 500 were young men who came from homes of their own, acquired by their personal labor and economy, or from the domestic circles of their parents, who lived in the same independence; 700 of them could with ease have earned three times what the government promised to pay them."

On the 27th the regiment took up its line of march for Alton, where it arrived July 1st. Rev. W. M. Givens, of Company H, tells the following incident of this march: "One night we camped near a small village, which was strewn next morning with chicken feathers. Before breakfast numerous complaints were filed with the officers for lost,

strayed or stolen chickens. As the regiment was not out to hunt lost or strayed fowls, the Colonel started out to investigate. He found more or less chickens in every company. Of course he talked loud and threatening, but Captain Roberts of Company A asked him where he got his chicken for breakfast. His cook bought them, of course. 'Why then, Colonel, did your cook bury the feathers?' 'He didn't,' was the hot reply. 'Come here, Colonel,' said the Captain. Going back of the tent he dug up enough to cover a dozen chickens. Colonel Baker called a meeting of the captains and they and the regimental officers paid the bill." "Our Captain," he says, "was a good, fatherly old Presbyterian, but had no military aptitude. He often put us to blush in repeating commands on regimental or battalion drill. For the command 'open file' he would say, 'don't scrouge, boys;' for oblique, 'slouch,' etc."

At Alton they received their arms. There was quite a rivalry between the First and Fourth as to which should receive the arms but by good management Colonel Baker succeeded in getting them for his regiment. On the Fourth of July, the regiment went by steamer to Jefferson Barracks where the organization of the regiment was completed, with Baker as Colonel, John Moore as Lieutenant Colonel, and Thomas L. Harris of Petersburg as Major. Moore was a very popular, democratic politician from McLean, Lieutenant Governor of the State and afterwards State Treasurer. Harris was also a democratic politician, a member of House of Representatives in the 31st, 34th and 35th Congresses. Here the regiment was thoroughly drilled; each forenoon, the officers, including Colonel Baker, by a regular army officer; in the afternoon company, squad and regimental drills by the officers of the regiment. This made "Baker's regiment" noted for its discipline, drill and military bearing, the "star" volunteer regiment of the army.

Here sixteen men deserted, one of them, Joseph Bozarth, from McLean. A comrade says of him: "He was a careless, good natured fellow, full of fun and mischief but of no stability of character or industry." He got tired of the restraints even of a camp of volunteers. He filled up his haversack with provisions, went to the Colonel and told him he was going to leave. The Colonel asked him what for; Bozarth replied that he was tired of soldiering and was going home; and home he went. This is a good illustration of the big frolic and picnic the war was deemed by the volunteers, both officers and men. Lieutenant Duncan of his company said that they did not wish to detain any one who was willing to desert.

July 22nd, after a parade through St. Louis and drill in front of the old Planters' House, where these stalwart sons of the prairies, resplendent in their new uniforms and burnished arms, elicited great praise by the precision of their evolutions and drills, they embarked on the steamers Sultana and Eclipse for New Orleans where they rested for a week. So far it had been a gala day for the men of the Fourth. Taken from the isolation of their quiet farm cabins, first they saw the capital of their own State; then, transferred to the then metropolis of the west, they got their first sight of the wealth and

splendors of a great city. Then the enchantments of that ride down the Mississippi, the lofty bluffs, the long intervening stretches of lowlands covered with rank vegetation, ranging from big trees to the almost impenetrable cane brake, the lonely wood-cutter's cabin, the sparse landing places, and the still sparser towns and villages, the swift rushing waters of the great river bearing on its broad bosom the flotsam and jetsam of thousands of miles of its own and its tributaries. The meeting of the upbound steamers and then the Queen City of the South with long banks lined with cotton awaiting shipment in the big ships for Europe, the negro slaves and quaint French quarters, all so strange and new, how mightily it must have stirred the dullest imagination!

August 4th, the regiment with horses equipments etc., embarked on sailing vessels for the Rio Grande and the next day put to sea. A trip of only a few hours by steamer took ten days during which they encountered a violent storm that nearly wrecked them. One can easily imagine the effect upon the prairie landlubbers who for the first time saw salt water. On the 15th, they landed at Brazos.

August 19th, they marched to Camp Belknap. September 15th they embarked on steamers for Camp Patterson which they reached the next day. They then left for Matmamoras, which they reached the 26th. On October 9th they were ordered to re-enforce General Taylor at the siege of Monterey. Three companies under Lieutenant Moore proceeded by boat to Carmargo, Mexico, a little town of about 1,500 inhabitants, on the San Juan, about six miles from the Rio Grande; the rest of the regiment under Colonel Baker marched overland to Carmargo which they reached the 16th, but not in time to aid General Taylor. They remained at Carmargo until December 11th, when they were ordered to return to Matamoras.

This stay of three and a half months on the Rio Grande and San Juan was the most miserable and fatal in their whole service. The inaction of camp is the most trying of a volunteer soldier's life. It was especially so to the Fourth; occupation, climate, food, scenery were changed. From the beautiful prairies of Illinois they were transferred to the sandy, cactus-covered chaparal plains of the Rio Grande, infested with scorpions, centipedes and tarantulas, swarming with flies, mosquitoes, gnats and other noxious insects, from a temperate climate to one semi-tropical, with the thermometer 100 in the shade. Sanitary science was almost wholly unknown to their officers and in practice at least wholly unknown to men. At Camp Belknap they had no fresh provisions, only bacon and crackers. Sickness prevailed to an alarming extent. In the Third and Fourth regiments there were over 300 on the sick list, measles of a very fatal type being the prevailing disease. At Carmargo it seemed as if nature itself had prepared a death-trap for them. That spring the river had overflowed its banks, leaving a rich, death-dealing sediment, which had dried in the hot sun but was no less virulent. While the regiment was there the ground was parched, the dust stifling, the water very bad, producing a great deal of sickness. Every hour was heard the muffled drum and volley of musketry over the grave of a dead soldier. Lieutenant

Duncan of Company B said that the dead march was played so often on the Rio Grande that the very birds knew it. Colonel Baker in Congress, December 28th, 1848, said of the regiment: "Nearly 100 men slept on the banks of that doleful river, while 200 of them had returned mere skeletons to find in the bosoms of their families and the embraces of their anxious families that repose and renovation which their shattered frames and dejected spirits so greatly needed."

On the march to Victoria, the Fourth was in a brigade under the command of General Gideon J. Pillow in General Patterson's division. December 11th they left Matamoras and January 4th, 1847, reached Victoria. January 15th they left Victoria for Tampico, which they reached on the 27th. Matamoras was a favorite place with all the volunteers; it was healthy with good taverns and restaurants. December 11th there was a grand review of the Third and Fourth of Illinois before General Patterson, who in an address to them said they were his favorite troops; that they were going into active service and he was confident that he would not be mistaken in the estimation he had of their character.

The march was infested with guerrillas who killed every soldier who lagged behind. This entailed great care and labor on the Fourth, which covered the rear. The only drawback seems to have been a lack of water which frequently called for long marches, the troops suffering greatly with the heat, dust and thirst. January 6th General Taylor visited the brigade. He rode a dun mule, attended by a single aid, and when within the lines he dismounted, his aid leading the mule. The excitement was intense as the old hero walked through the lines. General Taylor's force amounted to 2,500 men, making with the army from the Rio Grande upwards of 6,000 men concentrated at Victoria.

General Pillow was one of President Polk's political generals. When the Fourth took up its line of march for Victoria it was brigaded with the Third Illinois and a Tennessee regiment under command of General Pillow, who made himself so obnoxious to the Fourth that it was transferred to General Quitman's brigade.

The journal of the Third, by Captain W. W. Bishop of that regiment, published in 1847, says of General Pillow: "It is his misfortune to be cursed with unalloyed selfishness. The day before reaching San Fernando the Fourth Illinois marched (the guide having mistaken the road) forty miles without water. After making this distance, under a burning sun, a small well of water was reached. Its entire contents were drawn out and given by order of General Pillow to his staff, their horses and mules and the trains of his baggage wagons, during which operation the Fourth was patiently waiting, although fainting, for an opportunity to get a drop of water. When the General and his staff left the well the regiment was ordered to continue their march, which they were compelled to obey as there was no water left to tempt their stay. We do not believe that General Pillow's selfishness allowed him to perceive the cold blooded atrocity of his conduct." Lieutenant Duncan of Company B, Fourth Illinois says that he commanded the rear guard on that march, that he brought in

every man, though many threw themselves down in utter exhaustion and had to be prodded with the bayonet to keep them up. To leave anyone behind was certain death at the hands of guerrillas who followed our command.

George W. McConkey of Company H writes me: "As to the trouble with General Pillow, all that I can say about it is that he was not fit to command a corporal's guard. He was selfish, tyrannical, cared nothing about his men and was a coward. On the march from Matamoras to Tampico, the water was scarce and General Patterson ordered Pillow to stay behind the other brigade, camp where the other brigade camped the night before. A few Mexican lancers hovered around his brigade one day; thinking he was going to be attacked he ordered us to overtake that brigade; it was very warm and we were marching about twenty miles a day and that was all the men could stand; to double it was unreasonable. Some of the regimental commanders went to him and assured him there was no danger of an attack and asked him to countermand the order. He ordered them all under arrest. Some of the regiments had but one field officer and captains had to take charge of the regiments. The Fourth Illinois was one of them Major Harris, the only field officer then with the regiment, was arrested and Captain Pugh had to take the command. We marched over forty miles that day and a more worn out regiment you never saw, and when we got to camp the other brigade had used up all the water. General Patterson relieved him from the command and he kept away from us the balance of the march." Numerous other complaints that I have seen convinced me that General Pillow was wholly unfit to command men. Whether he was a coward, I express no opinion, merely suggesting that to me the distinction between "utter selfishness" and "cowardice" is very slight.

January 13th, orders were issued to hold the regiment in readiness to march to Tampico on the 15th and for General Taylor to return to Monterey. The camp at Victoria was broken up, General Twigg's brigade leaving on the 14th, General Pillow's on the 15th and General Quitman's on the 16th. On this march General Shields, having joined the command, was given a brigade constituted of the Third and Fourth Illinois and a New York regiment. He continued in command of this brigade until he was severely wounded at the battle of Cerro Gordo. He was a typical Irish soldier, brave even to rashness, never shirking the hardships or dangers of his position, and very popular with his men. This march was much like that to Victoria, the troops suffering greatly from want of water and from blistered feet. They were also much annoyed by thorns, with which every tree, bush and shrub seemed to be armed, and burrs of which the grass was full. None were on the sick list. All were hardy veterans. The brigade was accompanied by a train of 150 wagons, which excited the wonder of the Mexicans. The difficulties encountered in moving it through a country where wagons had never before passed were considered by them insurmountable; every wagon, however, was brought through and no description of property abandoned. The regiment arrived in the vicinity of Tampico on the 24th of January. On the 27th they moved near that place.

March 7th, the Fourth embarked on sailing vessels for Vera Cruz, ordinarily only a few hours sail, but light head-winds prevailing they made no progress. All were again deathly sea-sick, in the condition of the distinguished divine who said, that, when a violent storm arose on the ocean, he was afraid he was going to die, but soon was afraid he would not die. After four days and nights of misery a norther filled their sails and on the 12th they reached the harbor of Anton Lizardo, the rendezvous of the American army under General Scott, where they found forty vessels, mostly government transports.

Vera Cruz was the seaport of the capital. Its former population of 20,000 had been much reduced by the internal wars of the so-called republic. It was surrounded by a wall ten feet high and five feet thick, perforated for defense by small arms and flanked by strong forts; and on an island a half mile from main land was a strong fortress, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa.

On the 17th, three companies of the Fourth with Lieutenant-Colonel Moore at their head, landed near the city; and on the 20th the rest of the regiment followed. On every hand preparations for the siege were going on. There were mortars, cannons, shot and shell and all the paraphernalia of war. The investment of the city was soon completed with General Patterson's division, Pillow's, Shield's and Quitman's brigades in the center. The Mexicans met our troops with the following proclamation floated over our lines by means of kites. We are indebted to Thomas B. Briggs of Company B, now Captain of the United States Army on the retired list, for a copy of this document:

"Vera Cruz—To the Honest men of the enemy's camp—You are brought here to wage an unjust war and come deceived for the people you have to contend with is not that you are told it is in the United States. We are strong and desirous to measure our arms with yours. Come, do come near us and you will have a doubtless proof. You can't expect other results of your imprudent enterprise than to perish under the influence of the climate. Yellow fever has already began. One after one it will carry away all of you very soon without a comfort, having for a grave the ardent sand now under your feet. But we have our arms open to receive all of you as friends for we know that many honest people are amongst you. No matter the religious creed, we are all Christians. We are all brothers and we are all creatures of the same Heavenly Father. Come to us as friends and you will see and you will know by glad experience that the Mexicans are not at all the half savages, half barbarians you were told in the United States You will find frankness and true generosity and true happiness living with us. You will find plenty and productive work and a delicious climate; not farther than twenty leagues you may enjoy everlasting spring, constant, beautiful and abundant means of subsistence in very productive lands which we will give you as your property. You will also have complete liberty of conscience and liberty to adore the Creator of the world in the way you please. Do exchange your arms as an enemy for the embrace of a friend. Grant God that it may be so for your felicity."

To this kind invitation the American sent his reply in the shape of shot and shell. The Fourth assisted in erecting the naval battery of four 68 pounder, and two 32 pounder guns, manned by sailors from the fleet that afterwards so efficiently hammered the city walls and the castle. This battery, constructed of sand bags behind a protect-

ing sand ridge, 700 yards from the city walls, was entirely unsuspected by the Mexicans until the morning of the 24th when our troops in the night cut away the intervening sand ridge. Immediately all the Mexican batteries, including the castle, opened upon the naval battery. The fire was so fierce that the three companies of the Fourth which had been at work on the battery during the night were unable to leave the protecting ditch they had dug behind it until under the cover of night they were relieved. While standing in this entrenchment a shell fell right among them at the feet of Lieutenant Duncan of Company B; the fuse spluttered and finally went out. "Otherwise you would hardly have had your present correspondent," writes the Lieutenant. At noon of the 22nd, General Scott demanded the surrender of the city and castle, informing the commander that if the demand was not complied with in two hours the bombardment of Vera Cruz would commence. The demand was peremptorily refused and at 2:00 o'clock over the center of the city were seen three shells in the air, the first from our mortars; three rapid and terrific explosions were heard and the bombardment of Vera Cruz had commenced. From the 22nd to the 24th our bomb batteries never ceased nor relaxed day or night, but the bombardment was hourly increasing in severity as new batteries were opened and clouds of black smoke arose from the burning city. On the morning of the 24th, the heavy naval battery on the hill was unmasked. The Mexicans, seeing it was a formidable battery in dangerous proximity, opened upon it every gun in the city and castle that could be brought to bear on it. At 11:00 o'clock, our great guns opened with round shot and shell with terrible effect; flags fell, walls were crushed and cannon upon the forts dismounted; the enemy replied with equal spirit. Night, which ended the din of the cannonade, stopped not the increasing fire of the mortars. On the 25th the fury of the cannonade was continued. At 2:00 p. m. the forts were silenced, the enemy evidently overwhelmed by the weight of our metal. At 3:00 oclock a white flag came out of the city and wento General Scot's quarters. Immediately fall firing ceased. Negotiaons for a surrender continued until the forenoon of the 27th when the city, castle and all public stores were surrendered. The terms gave the officers and soldiers permission to march out, stack their arms and leave upon parole of honor.

The American loss during the seige was 14 killed; that of the Mexicans was estimated by them from 450 to 1,000. The Mexican army which surrendered amounted to 4,500.

On the morning of the 9th the division of General Patterson, Pillow's and Shield's brigades, 5,000 strong, took up their line of march for the city of Mexico over the magnificent National road, leading from Vera Cruz to the capital. They soon passed out of the low, malarial, fever-breeding sea coast into a beautiful, hilly and mountainous region. On the 12th while resting by the road side, the thermometer at 95, the deep boom of cannon was heard in front. Instantly the men, who were fainting a moment before, started to their feet, listening for a repetition of the sound. Rapid discharges followed; the brigade was formed, arms and cartridges were examined,

and on the double quick they marched to Rio del Plane, a distance of ten miles, in two hours and a half. There they overtook the brigade of General Twiggs, which had retired four miles, having met the enemy in great force at Cerro Gordo.

That afternoon orders were read directing the army to be ready at 4 o'clock next morning, with thirty-six hours rations and a canteen of water, for a contemplated attack on the enemy. But while the preparations were being rapidly made the order was postponed twenty-four hours. On the 13th the same order was issued for an attack at 2 o'clock the next morning. Since a more minute knowledge of the force and the strong position of the enemy had been gained, mistrust pervaded the whole army relative to the policy of giving battle before the arrival of General Scott. It was believed that a correct knowledge of the enemy's position had not been obtained by the officers commanding, all five of the reports submitted disagreeing in essential particulars. Under these circumstances an ominous foreboding oppressed the minds of all. The officers commanding at this time were Generals Twiggs, Pillow and Shields. The capacity of General Twiggs to execute an order was doubted by no one. Other opinions were entertained with regard to his skill and prudence as General in Chief. General Pillow was the senior of Shields, and in Pillow no kind of confidence was reposed. It was strongly suspected that the leaders in this contemplated attack were desirous of creating gunpowder popularity at the expense of their soldiers. Fortunately General Patterson, who was sick, reported himself for duty expressly to overrule this madcap scheme. The whole army felt a deep sense of gratitude toward him, feeling he had saved them from disgraceful defeat.

On the afternoon of the 14th General Scott arrived to the infinite delight of the army; all uncertainty was now gone, success appeared on every countenance.

Cerro Gordo, fifty-four miles from Vera Cruz, was a mountain pass on the National road which passes through the defile of Cerro Gordo 4,260 feet above the sea level. The American army gathered at Rio del Plane. From this place the road ascends four miles through winding defiles until it reaches the gorge at Cerro Gordo, a conical mountain which raises its summit 1,000 feet over the adjacent ascents. On the right the road is alternately shut in by cliffs and chaparral and on the left by precipitous walls of rock. The enemy held a fortified position extending in a semi-circle of two miles on the slope of a mountain defile at the base of which lay the only road by which the Americans could advance and which was enfiladed by batteries. A tower near the summit of the hill defended by eight guns commanded the whole of their works and was in effect the key of the position. Careful reconnoissance was made by General Scott and others. Lieutenant Duncan relates one by General Shields in which he participated:

"To discover the number and position of the guns commanding the road General Shields took twenty men including Major Harris and myself. We went round to the rear of the Mexican line and while our escort remained in

the thicket we noted the number of guns and their position massed in front. Shields here stepped out into the open for a better view. Harris and I, of course, going with him. The Mexicans opened fire, Shields looking through his glass. Up came a company to attack us. The General having had his view said: 'Well, gentlemen, have we seen enough?' 'Yes, General,' we promptly answered. As we stepped down the bank they all fired and the leaves and twigs dropped freely on our hats. The Mexicans all fired too high which accounts for our miraculous escape."

The sons of the men who had fought their way from the Atlantic to the Mississippi were too virile, active and adventurous soldiers to be idle in camp; they did some reconnoitering of their own. Twiggs' division had been re-inforced by General Shields' brigade which had the advance. General Shields tells the result of the volunteer explorations of the men of the Fourth Illinois under the command of Major Harris:

"Previous to the brilliant American victory at Cerro Gordo, the engineers of both the attacking and defending armies had carefully surveyed the highest of the eminences that bristle about the place, and had reported it inaccessible. It overlooked the whole Mexican army; but the Mexicans were confident it could not be occupied, and the same belief prevailed in the American camp. The night before the assault was a very dark one. I was in my tent, when toward midnight a number of soldiers of my command came to me and asked my permission to put a six-pound gun on the top of this cliff.

"I was astonished. 'Don't you know,' I asked, 'that the engineers say it can't be climbed?—to say nothing about putting cannon up there.' They insisted, however, that they should like to try it. 'Try it, then, boys,' I said, 'No harm will be done, even if you fail.' They went away and in two hours they were back again with the amazing news that they actually had a six-pounder in position on the summit of that almost perpendicular cliff. 'And, if you'll consent, sir,' said one of them, 'we'll put a twelve-pounder there, too.'

"'Go ahead,' I replied, 'I'll believe you can do anything now,' and long before daylight they reported that a twelve-pounder was up there beside the six-pounder, ready to open on the Mexicans in the morning.

"I thought the news too good to be kept, so I went to General Twiggs' tent and roused him up. He heard my story and looked as though he did not believe a word of it.

"'Do you mean to tell me,' he exclaimed, 'that those fellows of yours have hauled a six-pounder and a twelve-pounder up to the top of that height?'

"'Yes, sir; and what do you think of that?'

"'I think there are two pieces of artillery lost to the United States; for there are not men enough in the army to get them down again.'

"But those two pieces did excellent service against the astonished Mexicans that day, and they were got down again afterward."

The sketch of the Third says of the incident:

"Our brigade, in conjunction with a portion of General Twiggs' command, worked by details of 400 men, the whole night of the 17th drawing up heavy artillery to the top of the mountain, reaching same by 2 o'clock in the morning of the 18th. Long cables were attached to heavy ordnance which the united efforts of 400 men forced up an ascent of half a mile where a man could scarcely climb. Over small trees and stony sides of the mountain rapidly ascended the ponderous guns weighing over 7,500 pounds. At early dawn our batteries were in place fronting the enemy in his fancied inaccessible fortress."

Time and space will not admit of a description of the battle of Cerro Gordo. I shall attempt only so much of it as concerns the action of the Fourth Illinois. General Twiggs' division had the advance. To Shields, the Fourth Illinois in advance on the extreme right, was assigned the task to set out over an almost impassable

tract, reach the Jalapa road and turn the enemy's flank. By column of companies the Fourth led the way, followed by the Third. As Shields gained the road, a masked battery hid in the dense chaparral opened upon his command. He had barely time to give the command, "Charge," when he fell very seriously, but not mortally, wounded through the lungs. Colonel Foreman was left the ranking officer of the brigade; but Colonel Baker, who had been farther in the flanking movement, had discovered the location of the battery and Colonel Foreman yielded the command to him. Colonel Baker gave the command, "By left flank, march!" and pointed the line towards the enemy. Every man made his way through the chaparral, prickly pears and thorns in an incredible manner. Then there was a clean space of about 150 yards wide before the battery which stood on a slight elevation. When our line emerged into this open space, rending the air with shouts, the enemy precipitately left his guns; so great was his panic that cannon shotted and primed were left, which we turned and fired on the retreating masses.

The Fourth advanced rapidly to the Jalapa road in which stood the coach of Santa Anna, harnessed and ready to leave. A writer in the Mexican official journal likens this flanking movement, by a road deemed impassable by all their experience in the war from 1810 to 1820, to the passage of Bonaparte over the Alps.

After the capture by Harney of the entrenched hill and five gun battery and the dispersion of their cavalry by Shields' brigade companies B, G, and a part of H of the Fourth formed on a plateau just out of range of the National road now filled with the masses of the Mexican army retreating.

Many are the claimants for the honor of capturing Santa Anna's cork leg. Private J. B. Smith of the third Illinois claims that he was the first man to reach the carriage and find the leg, which after a hurried handling he threw back into the carriage as it would be an encumbrance in the pursuit, and hurried after the enemy. The claimants from the Fourth were numerous and certain. E company says it was in the advance and captured the whole outfit. G company says possession is nine points of the law and that they captured it and kept it many years until they turned it over to the State Museum at Springfield. Lieutenant Wm. L. Duncan of Company B in command of companies B and G at the battle of Cerro Gordo, perhaps the only surviving commissioned officer of the regiment, for many years secretary of the California Associated Veterans of the Mexican War, gives the following graphic account of the event and the pursuit of the enemy:

"At an angle of the road we saw a large carriage, which had been rendered unserviceable by the battery, which had killed one of the team, from which the Mexicans were cutting out the saddle mule on which they were mounting an officer. This we afterwards learned was General Santa Anna whose capture would have ended the war. I said to Captain Jones of G Company, 'Let's go down and see what they are doing,' but he replied, 'No, we have no orders; we may be needed here.' After a few minutes delay, chaffing at the unaction, I gave the command 'Forward,' and companies B and H charged down the hill scattering the Mexicans. Private Edward Elliott of B Company was the first to reach the carriage and jump in. He passed out first the cork leg which was passed around from hand to hand and was finally carried off

by a member of G Company. At that time none of the Third or any other companies of the Fourth had come up. Elliott then handed out from Santa Anna's lunch on the front seat a roast chicken of which I retained and devoured a leg. Then showing me quietly a handful of doubloons, Ed. said: 'There is a sack full under the front seat. What shall I do with them?' Stragglers from other companies were coming up and I feared a scramble for the gold which might end in a fight among ourselves and bring odium on the volunteers who had volunteered from a spirit of adventure and patriotism and not from a desire of plunder, I said, 'Put them back, Ed., we are gentlemen, we did not come here to loot.' He did so and I kept quiet. Soon an aid of General Twiggs, I think a regular officer, rode up, and placing the gold in his charge for the government I reformed my command."

With the two companies we pursued the enemy to near Encerro, Santa Anna's country seat, when General Twiggs, our division commander, rode up and halted us as we were far in advance of our supports and liable to be cut off by the Mexicans, whose rear guard filled the road in dense masses. He asked, "Who commands this regiment?" I replied, "I do, General," but looking around I saw in the ranks three officers of superior rank, although fighting as privates with muskets, so I corrected myself. "I do, General, but I see Captain Hunt of H Company, who ranks me, as I am only a lieutenant." Twiggs, looking sharply at Hunt, said: "Are you a captain?" "Yes by ———," replied Hunt, "and just as good a captain as you are General." The Mexican rear guard, some hundred strong, seeing us halt now faced around, filling the road with a solid mass of men. We could see an officer in advance urging the enemy to attack and wipe us out. Twiggs, seeing our danger, said: "Can't one of you Illinois bloodhounds run ahead and shoot that Greaser?" Joe Jones, one of my boys, said, "I will go Lieutenant, if you say so." As Joe was only seventeen and the only son of a widow, I hesitated to give the order, but no one else volunteering and Twiggs repeating the command, I said, "Go Jones, but be careful." Jones looked at the priming of his gun—we were armed with flint-rock muskets—and waving an invitation to the Mexican, went forward. The Mexican, taking a gun from one of his men, came to meet him. At pistol shot both halted, aimed and fired with one report. For an instant both stood firm and then the Mexican, placing his hand on his breast, fell back dead, shot through the heart. This was a duel in the strictest sense of the word. I shall never forget it. The enemy turned and went off on the double quick. Three of us went forward and out of respect for his bravery carried the officer out of the road and placed him under a tree, where the rapidly advancing army would not trample on him."

"While waiting for the rest of our command to come up we had a cock fight. Some of the boys found in a cave house two fine game cocks. Forming a ring, General Twiggs handled one and I the other. We started them fighting to the intense astonishment of the regular battery when they galloped up. In the midst of greatest danger soldiers welcome any diversion that calls their minds off their grim work."

In the battle of Cerro Gordo, Rev. W. M. Givens of Company H relates the following incident. "The driver of one of the Mexican specie wagons was killed and the wagon overtaken by the Fourth,

which had the advance in the pursuit. Sergeant D. G. Burr of Company H said he wanted to see a dead Mexican, so he went to the wagon, looked over the side and sure enough there lay the dead Mexican soldier; under his head lay a new blanket. Burr had lost his so he wanted to get the Mexican's, but as he reached out for it the admonitions of a good mother whispered, "Thou shalt not steal." The sergeant turned away, commending himself for his honesty. The next day it was rumored that a member of Company I had found $4,000 in gold in a blanket under the head of a dead Mexican. Burr started at once to ascertain the truth of the report. He soon found the man who acknowledged that he got the blanket and money. Burr asked him what he did with it and he replied that he had divided it up with his mess-mates. "Did you tell your captain?" "Yes." "Did he not require you to turn it over as contraband," asked Burr. "Contraband, the devil, not a bit of it; he took a part of it himself." Burr said, after mature deliberation on the rules of war, he concluded that some cheap boy ought to kick him for his stupidity in not knowing that all things are lawful in war."

James Depew of Company B said of the same incident that after the battle in which he had been slightly wounded while wandering over the battle field, he came across a large covered Mexican wagon. He climbed on the poll of the wagon, looked in, and found a dead Mexican soldier with his head on a knapsack. Depew jumped down and left the soldier "alone in his glory." The next day another soldier made the same discovery but more inquisitive than Depew examined the knapsack and found it full of money which he appropriated to his own use.*

I am aware that this will seem a very meager record to the veterans of our early regiments, in the war of the rebellion, who count their battles by the score; but the brief service of the Fourth was long, arduous and dangerous enough to show that the American soldier is the best in all the annals of time; best, because while submitting to reasonable discipline he never becomes a mere "fighting machine"; but is always and everywhere a thinking man, able to take advantage of the varying exigencies of battle, the soldier in the ranks fit to assume command if all his superior officers fall, the best because the form and spirit of our government, a democratic republic, at every step teaches its children self-reliance and self-control and the ambition of leadership, teaches him to take the initiative as the Fourth did at Cerro Gordo, a quality absolutely essential in modern warfare; best, because none endures more cheerfully and patiently the enui of camp and the hardships of the march, or more dauntlessly faces death itself in the performance of his duties.

The war with Mexico was also the school for the commanders of our armies in 1861-65; for Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Logan, as well as for the heroic men on the other side. The first man in McLean county to enlist in response to the fateful firing on Fort Sumpter was a veteran of the Mexican war, Captain Harvey of Company K, Eighth Illinois, who sealed his devotion to the Union with his life at Shiloh. Colonel Baker of the Fourth, had all the qualities of a great commander. The imagination, quickness of intellect and thorough mental

*See note at the end of the paper.

training that made him the peerless orator, also enabled him to divine and forecast the action of his antagonists; this and the courage of his race to act instantly with all his force, to do the right thing at the right time. He also had what is not often given to the imaginative, artistic temperament, the executive ability of the English race that has made them the great administrators of modern times. His men loved, admired and trusted him implicitly. Had not his career been untimely cut off at Balls Bluff he would have ranked high among the great commanders of the civil war. In every Company of the Fourth were men who were eagerly sought to command the raw volunteers of 1861 and who gladly gave their services, and many their lives, that the Union might continue one and indivisible, the hope of mankind the world over. The most distinguished of these was a lieutenant in the Decatur Company, the greatly beloved, the lion-hearted, Richard J. Oglesby.

The State of Illinois did well when the Sixteenth General Assembly in 1849, directed that the "Governor of the State procure suitable swords, with proper devices and inscriptions to be presented in the name and in behalf of the people of this State to Major-General Shields; to the eldest son of the lamented Col. John J. Hardin; and to each of the field officers from this State engaged in the Mexican war, as a public testimonial of their admiration for the gallant conduct of these officers at the battle of Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, and elsewhere."

One of these swords, the gift of a grateful people to a noble man, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, of the Fourth, I have here for the inspection of those who desire to see this beautiful specimen of the artisan and goldsmith. (Colonel Moore's sword was shown at the meeting, by Mr. Prince )

* Note—After the delivery of the above address, Mr. Prince having ascertained that Mr. Elliot, spoken of by Lieutenant Duncan, was living at San Rafael, Cal., sent him a copy of the address and received the following reply:

"General Scott says: 'The field of operations covered many miles in extent broken by mountains and deep chasms. General Shields, a commander of talent and activity, is I fear if not dead mortally wounded. Of the conduct of the volunteer force under the brave General Shields I cannot speak in too high terms." General Patterson says: "Colonel Baker, Fourth Illinois regiment, having assumed the command, the enemies' lines were charged with spirit and success by the Third and Fourth Illinois and New York regiments of volunteers under their respective commanders Colonels Foreman and Burnett and Major Harris. The route now became general, the brigade pressed forward in rapid pursuit leaving a sufficient force to secure the artillery, specie, baggage, provisions and camp equipage left in our hands."

Colonel Baker says: "The brigade moved to reinforce General Twiggs' division operating on the right of the Cerro Gordo pass. It reached the position of that division about five o'clock on the evening of the 17th, too late to share in the brilliant action of that day. During the greater portion of the night almost the entire brigade was occupied in dragging a battery of twenty-four pounder siege gun and two twenty-four pound Howitzers, which work they performed with great labor and zeal. At daylight on the morning of the 18th the brigade was under arms and moved at an early hour to attack the extreme left of the enemy's position. This was effected over very difficult ground through a thick chaparral and under a galling fire from the enemy's guns on the heights.

"Upon approaching the main road the enemy was found upon and near it with a field battery of six guns supported by a large force of infantry and cavalry.

"While forming for the attack under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns, General Shields who had gallantly led the command fell severely if not mortally wounded. I then directed a company to deploy as skirmishers and ordered a charge upon the enemy's lines which was accomplished with spirit and success by those companies which from the nature of the ground were able to make the advance. They were promptly and gallantly supported by the remainder of the Fourth Illinois regiment under Major Harris. The Third regiment under Colonel Foreman, the New York under Colonel Burnett, being ordered by me to move forward to the right and left and upon the enemy. The route became complete at that point and the enemy fled in great confusion leaving his guns, baggage and a large amount of specie, provisions and camp equipage in our hands.

"I am under obligations to Colonels Foreman and Burnett and Major Harris for the coolness, promptness and gallantry with which they carried into execution the several dispositions of their commands."

## 15. LIBRARIES AS LOCAL HISTORY CENTERS: THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(By Caroline B. McIlvaine.)

It is not my hope to be able to offer to the Illinois State Historical Society any new ideas upon the subject of collecting local historical material; for this organization has achieved in the seven years since its founding, a success in that direction, and in coördinating the historical interests of the state, which would be absolutely unaccountable did we not know that it had already lived for many decades in the hearts of its founders. Speaking then in the capacity of a librarian, and wholly as a layman where historical matters are concerned, my observations may present to you some new aspect of familiar themes.

The foundations for historical research in Illinois having been laid very broad and very deep by our first historical society, known as the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois, the duty devolving upon its successors, and so upon librarians as custodians of the collections of such bodies, are neither few nor light, and if the historians and librarians of the rising generation are to build intelligently upon the foundations of their elders they cannot review too often nor too thoughtfully, the objects of that pioneer society as set forth in its Proceedings from which the following are extracts. "On the evening of Saturday, December 8th, 1827, a number of gentlemen, chiefly members of the bench and bar of the Supreme Court then in session, met at the State House at Vandalia in pursuance of public notice, for the purpose of organizing a Historical Society for this State: Chief Justice Wilson was called to the chair, and James Hall appointed secretary. The following resolution was offered by Mr. Hall, and adopted:

*Resolved*, that the gentlemen present do now form themselves into a Society, for the promotion of elegant and useful learning. [The Preamble to the Constitution adopted is so striking a monument to the sagacity and far-sightedness of these first gentlemen of Illinois that it has ever since served as the standard of symmetry and completeness by which all subsequent historical effort has been gauged, if indeed it does not indicate the highwater mark of aspiration in this direction. It is in part as follows,] "The undersigned citizens of Illinois, and others, sensible that there are now in existence, within this state, many interesting vestiges of its former population, that many important facts respecting its settlement by the present race of inhabitants are preserved only in tradition; that little is correctly known, even by ourselves, in relation to those points, and that the past and present character of our country, its soil, climate and productions, remain almost unnoticed by the

naturalist and historian; and believing that these important relics of the past, or monuments of the present time, are daily diminishing in number and value, have determined to establish an institution which shall afford a safe depository for all such documents, facts, and materials, as we shall be able to procure, and which may be properly classed among the evidences of history."

The duties of the librarian of that Society, who was one Robert Peebles by name, are defined in the constitution as follows:

The librarian shall keep all documents and other articles handed to him by the Society for safe keeping; shall make proper records and catalogues of the same, under the direction of the corresponding committee, and perform such other duties as may be deemed necessary. I am unable to learn anything beyond the name of this first librarian, but doubtless he was custodian of many choice local items lacking in the collections of today if the following resolutions were carried out:

*Resolved*, that the committee of correspondence be instructed to cause observations to be taken of the heat, weight, and currents of the atmosphere—the change of seasons—the quantity of rain; and to note all such other phenomena as will tend to illustrate the climate of Illinois.

*Resolved*, that the committee of correspondence be instructed to procure, if possible, by donation, if not, to ascertain on what terms, the Laws—the Journals of Executive and Legislative bodies—and all other documents of the N. W. Territory, prior to the organization of the Territory of Illinois—and of the Territory and State of Illinois.

*Resolved*, that the committee of correspondence be instructed to procure, in like manner, Illinois newspapers from the earliest to the present period—and to cause a file to be preserved in future.

I believe that it was in some of the writings of Mr. Beckwith that I came across the following extract from the Illinois Intelligencer of February 14, 1829: "We publish this week the proceedings of the Antiquarian Historical Society of this State, and we earnestly recommend this subject to the attention of our readers. The improvement of the country, and its advancement in literature, are of more importance to the people than the elevation of an ambitious aspirant, or the quarrels of demagogues."

Apparently the "ambitious aspirants and demagogues" were too numerous for the promoters of elegant and useful learning, for the society only lived a few years; but long enough to leave the stamp of the great minds which composed its membership upon its records, where were enrolled among others the names of James Hall, Samuel D. Lockwood, Edward Coles, John Reynolds, John Mason Peck, Peter Cartwright, Sidney Breese, Henry Eddy, Auguste Chouteau, General William Clark and William H. Brown. Three of the pamphlets published in Edwardsville in 1828, and at Vandalia in 1829 and 1830, are in the library of the Chicago Historical Society. The writer would be glad to learn of other publications of this Society or of other copies of the above mentioned.

It is now four score years since that first Illinois historical society librarian entered upon his duties of safeguarding and cataloguing the pioneer accumulations of that first historical society, yet notwithstanding much effort during the many intervening years to collect along the lines then marked out, the librarian of an Illinois historical collection of the twentieth century, in contemplating the volumes in his charge, finds the heritage of those years much lighter in some important departments than one would suppose. Indeed the history

of Illinois is yet to be written. So far I believe no librarian in the state has the happiness to be custodian of an entirely complete set of the territorial laws, a consecutive file of an early Illinois newspaper, nor even of the full set of Illinois county histories. To the thrifty bookman these incomplete files are thorns in the flesh, not to be tolerated until it has been proven that the lacking volumes are not sequestered in some cellar or attic, or buried alive under the accumulated dust of some lawyer's office.

The thirty odd local historical societies which the industry of the Illinois State Society has brought into corresponding communication with one another, have done much to bring to light forgotten records in the vicinity of their headquarters. Is it not true that there is much loss in effectiveness, however, in county historical societies by reason of the fact that the meetings of a society whose membership extends over a large area, are necessarily held only at long intervals, and that in the meantime enterprises undertaken with enthusiasm lapse for want of opportunity for consultation and coöperation? If it were practicable to go on multiplying historical societies until every city, village and hamlet had its own organization, I venture to say that precious documents would no longer slumber in dusty offices and attics, for the historians who were on the spot would not rest until everything of this description was rescued and accessibly preserved. But if the multiplication of petty organizations would not mean increased strength is there any agency which can be relied upon to assist in sustaining interest in historical matters in the interim between the meetings of the societies? To the mind of the librarian of an historical society there can be but one answer to this question, namely that the local public library in the smaller communities with its permanent building, and staff of assistants maintained at public expense, is that agency.

In the opinion of the writer the public libraries might become a valuable asset in reckoning the historical strength of the State. But whether or not the societies wish to avail themselves of this means of extending their influence, it would seem to be their duty to point out to those entrusted with the management of town libraries the importance of devoting some part of the funds in their hands to collecting material relative to their own towns, for it is a fact that some towns have not even preserved copies of their own official publications. The more progressive however, even now, realize that the formation of a local collection enlists the coöperation of a larger part of the community than any other subject could possibly do. But some trustee will take alarm and object that it is the mission of the historical societies to investigate and preserve the remains of Indian occupation, the relics of the explorers and missionaries and the vestiges of pioneer settlers. This is perfectly true, but as has been before remarked, there are not now and probably never will be enough historical societies in the State of Illinois to canvass this great field minutely. It is the mission of the historical societies to advise, to investigate, and to call general attention to the historic sites, etc., but it is the privilege of the communities where these sites are found, and particularly of the libraries located there, to foster local pride in the

historic remains and to take the initiative measures to preserve them. Assuredly the duty of collecting and cataloguing the literature that bears upon the locality will not be shirked by any library that depends upon the public for its perpetuity.

The following outline of desiderata might be suggested to libraries for forming local collections:

First. All the printed matter obtainable, including documents and newspapers, bearing upon the archæology, topography, history, science, politics, art and social conditions of the locality, and exhibits of natural objects and photographs illustrating the same.
Second. All works written by natives or residents of the locality.
Third. Works bearing the imprint of local printers.

An important branch of local interest which has not received as much attention in this country as it has in England, are clubs formed for the purpose of making photographic surveys of the districts surrounding their headquarters. If work of this kind is found advisable in England, how much more necessary is it here, where things are much more transient and fluctuating. It will be found practicable in some libraries to form photographic clubs as a department of the regular work, but it will be worth while for any library to aid in fostering such societies by allowing them a room in the library in which to hold meetings, or even for the keeping of apparatus and for developing, for the sake of preserving the characteristics of the town where it is located.

The principal local collections in Illinois outside of Chicago, of which I have been able to learn, are the following:

The Illinois State Historical Library concerning whose strength it is only necessary to say that its catalogue published in 1900, contained thirty double column pages devoted to Illinois entries alone.
The Public Library of Belleville has a local history collection to which it devotes a separate alcove. This library also preserves all local newspapers.
The Withers Public Library at Bloomington has a special collection of the third-class—namely, books by McLean County authors.
The Evanston Public Library collects all works by local authors and books pertaining to the town, and coöperates with the Evanston Historical Society in the collection of programs of entertainments, advertising matter and other ephemera pertaining to the locality. The Historical society holds its meetings in the Library building.
The Oak Park Library works along similar lines.
Galena Public Library has an autograph collection of books by local authors.

It may be asked how effective coöperation between public libraries and historical societies can be brought about. In the first place the subject of special collections of local material is not an entirely new one to the librarians of the State. It was freely discussed at the meeting of the Illinois Library Association at Rockford in April last, and suggestions were made looking to more aggressive work on local lines. At the St. Louis meeting of the American Library Association in 1904 preliminary steps were taken to form an association of persons particularly interested in the gathering of local history, as a separate chapter of the American Library Association. These things seem to indicate a spirit favorable to coöperation, and in my opinion what is needed to bring matters to a focus and to insure systematic and intelligent coöperation is for the historical societies to lay before

the various library boards a statement of the need for, and the mutual benefit to be derived from working together in these matters and to offer such suggestions as to lines of investigation and methods, as their superior experience may dictate. And further if the historical associations of the State should send delegates to the meetings of the above mentioned organizations of librarians, the contingent of persons interested in purely historical literature would then be sufficiently large to form a strong sub-organization which would devote its deliberations to matters especially interesting to collectors of historical material.

While the benefits accruing to the historical societies from coöperation with public libraries will be largely indirect in the way of sustaining the interest and promoting the activity of members between meetings, a wide spread activity awakened in the reading public is sure to result in additions to the membership of historical societies and possibly in the discovery of data at present inaccessible. These results are, if I mistake not, among the main objects for which historical societies are maintained.

## II.

## THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—FOUNDED 1856. INCORPORATED 1857.

A few quotations from statements made by an incorporator of this Society will serve to bring before you its origin and special objects better than any words of mine could do; for on the 24th of April next the Chicago Historical Society will have been in existence for half a century.

Mr. Isaac N. Arnold wrote in 1870 as follows: "The Chicago Historical Society had its origin in the conviction, felt by a few leading citizens, that the unexampled growth and development of the North-Western States made an unusually strong demand upon the present generation for the adoption of measures that would insure a faithful record of their primitive condition, and of the marvelous transformation they have undergone since their first settlement. The few interesting traces to be found of the pre-historic race, or races, that once inhabited this continent were fast disappearing. The Indian tribes, our immediate predecessors in the occupancy of the country, were also passing away, and with them, the traces left by their ancestors, and all traditions of the more recent events in their own unwritten history. The imperfect records of the deeds performed, privations endured, and conquests made by the heroic men who were the pioneers of this present civilization were being lost. And even the yet more wonderful achievements of the men of today, whose subjection of vast areas of wild lands, immense forests of timber and inexhaustible mineral resources to the uses of civilized life, whose construction of public works and opening of continental highways, and whose building of villages and cities, with countless institutions of every kind, have been without parallel in the history of the world—these too would be lost to the generation to succeed us, unless an institution were founded, whose chief end it should be to collect, record, and diffuse historic knowledge.

In harmony with these ideas and plans, the Chicago Historical Society was organized on the 24th of April, 1856, by the adoption of a constitution, which defined its general object to be "to encourage

historical inquiry and spread historical information, especially within the State of Illinois, and also within the entire territory of the North-West."

The names of the incorporators were as follow: Messrs. William H. Brown, William B. Ogden, J. Young Scammon, Mason Brayman, Mark Skinner, Geo. Manierre, John H. Kinzie, J. V. Z. Blaney, E. I. Tinkham, J. D. Webster, W. A. Smallwood, Van H. Higgins, N. S. Davis, Chas. H. Ray, Samuel Dexter Ward, Mahlon D. Ogden, Dr. Franklin Scammon, Ezra B. McCagg, Rev. Wm. Barry, and I. N. Arnold, and the first officers were: Wm. H. Brown, President; Wm. B. Ogden and J. Y. Scammon, Vice-Presidents; S. D. Ward, Treasurer; Wm. Barry, Recording Secretary and Librarian, and Charles H. Ray, Corresponding Secretary.

The Charter was drawn by Rev. Mr. Barry, at whose suggestion the Society had been organized, and it became a law through the agency of Isaac N. Arnold, then a member of the Legislature from Chicago, Feb. 7, 1857. Organized but twenty years after the incorporation of Chicago as a town, the resident membership of the Society has included the names of almost every public spirited man, who has aided in developing the commercial, artistic and literary growth of the city, and many names enrolled in its honorary and corresponding membership link it with a more remote past and particularly with the first historical society of the state.* Among other members of this period may be mentioned: Sidney Breese, Lewis Cass, Edward Coles, Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, John Reynolds, Lyman Trumbull, David J. Baker, Hiram W. Beckwith, Orville H. Browning, Zebina Eastman, Ninian W. Edwards, George Flower, Jacob Fouke, Joseph Gillespie, James Hall, Robert Harmer, Gabriel A. Jones, I. A. Lapham, Peter A. Menard, John Mason Peck, Wm. H. Perrin, William Pickering and Hooper Warren.

The officers who have successively served the Society are as follows:

Presidents: William Hubbard Brown, Walter Loomis Newberry, Jonathan Young Scammon, Edwin Holmes Sheldon, Isaac Newton Arnold, Elihu Benjamin Washburne, Edward Gay Mason, John Nelson Jewett, and the present incumbent Franklin Harvey Head.

Secretaries and Librarians: William Barry, assisted by Samuel Stone, Thomas H. Armstrong, Lemuel G. Olmstead, J. W. Hoyt, William Corkran, Belden F. Culver, Albert David Hager, assisted by Charles Harpel, John Moses, Charles Evans, James W. Fertig, present Secretary, Caroline M. McIlvaine, present Librarian.

In 1868, only twelve years after the adoption of the Constitution, Mr. Arnold in an address before the Society, reported the total number of volumes, pamphlets and manuscripts collected as 100,205—a fact which speaks well for the energy of the early members who though few were enthusiastic. These collections housed at this time in the Society's own building, erected at a cost of $60,000 and thought to be fire-proof, consisted of complete files of colonial, territorial and state

*For the task, laid down by the Illinois Antiquarian and Historical Society for want of funds, and re-attempted without success in 1837, was shouldered by the Chicago Historical Society in 1856, under the leadership of William H. Brown, who had been prominent in the organization of both of the earlier societies.

laws, journals, etc., probably the largest collection of slavery and Civil War material in the country, including the original Emancipation Proclamation, also early newspapers, and hundreds of personal narratives by pioneers of the Northwest. All of these with the records of the Society, were reduced to ashes on October 9th, 1871.

In the face of this calamity and of the lesser one of 1874, the faith of these gentlemen remained unshaken, and true to those sterling qualities which have characterized the men of Chicago and of Illinois from the earliest times, they stood together, and began again the work of the Society, at a time when men of less exalted ideals would have felt amply justified in turning their whole attention to the re-establishment of their own enterprises. It is related that, almost before the ashes were cold John Wentworth began to re-assemble for the Society's collections the files of the Chicago Democrat which he had previously brought together with much labor and expense. This is only one instance among hundreds, for loyal pioneer citizens of Chicago and Illinois, who had not suffered by the fire, contributed from their private libraries whatever was of interest to the Society. In this way the histories, directories, and gazetteers of the early days in Illinois were sooner or later almost all restored to the library. The historical societies of Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and of Massachusetts made large contributions from their duplicate files, and the Secretary of State, and other public offices of Illinois sent large consignments of documents. As a result of continued generosity and patriotic effort on the part of the members of the Society, and of sister organizations, the library now contains about 150,000 volumes, pamphlets and manuscripts.

The Society is entirely dependent for its support upon the dues of its members and upon the income from certain bequests. Mr. Henry D. Gilpin, a public spirited citizen of Philadelphia, who died in 1860, made the Society a residuary legatee under his will, the proceeds of his bequest to be used for the erection and maintenance of a fire-proof library building. It might with propriety be said here, in explanation of the fact of so generous a bequest coming to a western institution from a man whose life was entirely spent in the East, that Mr. Gilpin had large real estate holdings in Chicago, managed by the dean of real estate men of his day, Samuel H. Kerfoot. Mr. Gilpin wishing to make some return to the city where these profitable investments had been made, at one time asked Mr. Kerfoot to advise him of the name of some institution worthy to become the recipient of such acknowledgement. Mr. Kerfoot named the Chicago Historical Society, of which he was a life member. Others who have made bequests to the Society have been John Crerar, Lucretia Pond, Geo. M. Pullman, Elizabeth Hammond Stickney, Jonathan Burr, Philo Carpenter, Mrs. J. Y. Scammon, Huntington W. Jackson, Henry J. Willing, T. Mauro Garrett, and Elias T. Watkins.

The present home of the Society, absolutely fire-proof in its construction and appointments, now houses a collection of books and manuscripts larger by one half than that owned at the time of the great fire. With the object of collecting the materials for the history of this part of our country, the officers of the Society have through

the years, watched the bookmarts of the world to buy for the library the source books, original editions, newspapers, and above all the manuscripts which should make this collection a storehouse for the future writers and teachers of history to draw upon, a storehouse where the materials for original research relative to the Middle West might be found.

In the department of manuscripts the following may be mentioned:

The James Madison Papers, 1778-1836, purchased for the Society by Mr. Marshall Field, consists of eight large volumes, containing some 1,400 letters and papers, written during the time that Madison was delegate to the Continental Congress, member of the Constitutional Convention, and of the first Congress, Secretary of State, and President of the United States. Three volumes contain the letters of John Armstrong, Joseph Jones, and Edmund Randolph to James Madison, and throw light upon all the important occurrences of those times.

The James Wilkinson Papers, 1779-1823, are contained in four magnificient folio volumes, bound in full morocco, each manuscript mounted separately. In this collection, besides letters written by Wilkinson, are letters from Thomas Jefferson; Timothy Pickering; General Dearborn; W. C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Louisiana; Marquis of Casa Calvo, Spanish Commandant at New Orleans; Morales, Spanish commandant at Pensacola; Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis; and copies of letters from Aaron Burr and others relating to Burr's movements and capture.

The Ninian Edwards Papers, consisting of the letters and documents, public and private (1800-32), of Illinois' territorial governor, are an especially interesting commentary upon the politics and manners of his day, particularly in the Northwest. A portion of these papers forms volume III. of the Society's Collections, for the publication of which the Society is indebted to Mr. Marshall Field.

The Pierre Menard Papers comprise three quarto volumes, largely official documents of the first lieutenant governor of Illinois, who held almost every office in the power of the people of the state to confer.

The collection of papers relating to the French regime in Illinois and in the Mississippi Valley, consists of original documents and letters in the handwriting of Joliet, Allouez, LaSalle, Tronty, Frontenac, and other governors of New France, copies of the parish registers of the early French missions, etc. Among these documents is the letter of LaSalle, dated at Chicagou, September 1, 1683, in which he gives his parting directions to Tonty and the little band left at Fort St. Louis. Another document of even greater historic interest is the deed, or bill of sale, given by Francois de la Forest, the partner of Tonty, to Michael Acau, by which De la Forest's share of the land about Starved Rock, was conveyed to Acau. This is in all probability the first deed to real estate within the present state of Illinois.

The papers of President James K. Polk consist of the diary kept during his administration, 1845-48, and original drafts of documents, 1826-48.

In addition to the above collection the Society has some 14,000 individual manuscripts bound and indexed. These consist of docu-

ments, letters and reminiscences of Illinois pioneers, among them a large number of the personal papers of Joseph Gillespie, Gabriel Jones, Zebina Eastman, Elias Kent Kane, and Jacob Fouke.

During the past year there were added to the Library two important collections of manuscripts, one consisting of 206 documents relating to the French regime, including a feudal grant upon rents, by LaSalle to Jacques Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray, antedating the above mentioned deed by ten years; the others being a large mass of data relative to prehistoric times in Illinois accompanied by a collection of relics and specimens illustrative of this period.

Among the printed sources which the library contains, the original editions of the laws of the Northwest, Indiana, and Illinois Territories would probably be considered its most valuable asset. These are contained in seventeen small volumes and cover the period from 1787 to 1818, a list of which is appended. The laws of 1812, the only volume lacking to make this file complete, were purchased for the Society some twelve or fourteen years ago, and through some inadvertence, never found their way to the shelves of the library. I mention the fact in the hope if found wandering at large they may be apprehended and returned to us. The collection of Illinois newspapers should be mentioned next. Of these the library has over two hundred titles catalogued, bearing dates from 1820 to the present. Early maps, atlases, directories, gazetteers and guides for Illinois and adjacent states have received special attention for many years.

Great efforts have been made to obtain the original editions of the journals of the explorers of the Mississippi Valley with the result that several shelves are filled with russet colored volumes bearing the names of Marquette, LaSalle, Tonty, Hennepin, Joutel, LaHontan, Perrot, Charlevoix, LaPotherie, Margry, and Shea. The collection in the department of later travels in the Central West is nearly complete and contains many volumes of great rarity. Several additions were made to this section last winter from the library of the late Hiram W. Beckwith, among them his beautiful copy of Carver's travels in the original tree-calf, it being the third edition containing the remarkable hand-colored plates.

The series of Collections published by the Society consists of the following: Vol. I. The History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, by George Flower; Vol. II. A Sketch of Enoch Long, an Illinois Pioneer; Vol. III. The Edwards Papers; and Vol. IV. Early Chicago and Illinois, which last includes a selection of the Pierre Menard Papers and other manuscripts relating to the early French settlements. In addition to the above the Society has published some fifty addresses on historical subjects, presented at its meetings many of them being the result of special investigations in the picturesque field of the southern portion of our state. As there has always been a strong demand for these occasional addresses they have usually been re-printed in the Fergus Historical Series, under which name they are frequently cited instead of by their proper designation as Proceedings of the Chicago Historical Society. Recently one of these papers was referred to in all seriousness as a publication of the Fergus Historical Society.

In addition to its library the society maintains a museum of relics gathered with the object of illustrating, as far as possible, all of the historic periods treated of in the literature of Illinois and the Northwest, from prehistoric times to the present. The gallery of paintings contains portraits of men and women who have played important parts in the history of Illinois, among them, Louis XIV., Louis XV., Frontenac, Robert de la Salle, George Rogers Clark, Ninian Edwards, Shadrach Bond, Pierre Menard, John Edgar, George Flower, Edward Coles, Joseph Duncan, Gurdon S. Hubbard, John H. Kinzie, and many of later times. Classes from schools in and around Chicago, make frequent pilgrimages to the museum to study certain exhibits which the teachers have found of educational value in their work in Illinois history.

I wish to emphasize the fact that the Chicago Historical Society is a public institution, though founded and maintained by private funds, and that the public is welcome at all times to its library and museum. And further that the interests of the society are confined to no period and to no section of the state, but includes every factor which has contributed to make Illinois the great state it is today. The fact that a few Chicago people in their great loyalty to home institutions, fondly suppose that the library building at Dearborn and Ontario streets houses nothing but Chicago documents and newspapers, does not alter the fact that the Constitution of the Society admits of no such limitations. The increasing use of its collections by lawyers, authors, and journalists as well as by students from the colleges and universities of Illinois and the surrounding states, indicates that there is a demand for a special historical library in Chicago, which in point of population represents two fifths of the entire number of people in the state, and which now demands a high degree of specialization in every department of its complex life.

If the soil of Illinois were less rich in historic incident, if its people had not seen the rise and fall of so many foreign regimes, or had had fewer great men to honor, it might be questioned if the possession of two historical societies with the same avowed objects were not more of an embasrasrment than a matter for congratulation. But since the seven years of work along almost identical lines have been marked by vigorous growth in both societies, may not these sister organizations now be said to have passed the experimental stage, and to be assured of increasing fields of usefulness, one strengthened by the proximity of the other—not foreswearing sisterly rivalry, but like well reared children keeping those rivalries within the borders of their own home, and making common cause whenever and wherever the glory of Illinois requires it.

# LIST OF TERRITORIAL LAWS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

| | | Printed. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Governors and Judges.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 1787-1802 | n p. n d. | |
| | [1787]-1791 | 1792 | |
| | 1792 July—December | 1794 | |
| | 1795 | 1796 | (Maxwell's Code.) |
| | **Legislature.** | | |
| | Laws passed: | | |
| —— —— | 1798 | 1798 | |
| | **General Assembly.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 1st Session, 1799 | 1800 | |

## INDIANA TERRITORY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Governors and Judges.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 1st Session, 1801 | 1802 | |
| | 2nd do , 1802 } | 1804 | |
| | 3rd do , 1803 } | | |
| | **General Assembly.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 1st Assembly— | | |
| | 1st Session, 1805 | [1805] folio. | |
| | 2nd do , 1806 | [1806] folio. | |
| | 2nd Assembly— | | |
| | 1st Session, 1807 | 1807 | |
| | 2nd do , 1808 | 1808 | |

## ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Legislative Council and House of Representatives.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 4th Session, 1815-16 | 1816 | |
| | **Legislative Council and House of Representatives.** | | |
| | Laws: | | |
| —— —— | 5th Session, 1816-17 | 1817 | (2 editions) |
| | 6th do , 1817-18 | 1818 | |
| —— —— | Laws revised by Nathaniel Pope | 1815 2 vols. | |

PART III.

# Contributions to State History.

STARVED ROCK.

# 1. STARVED ROCK AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

By Theodore Jessup.*

It is the purpose of this paper to recall to our minds, with as much fullness of detail as its limitations impose, the fact that Illinois, so poor in places of historical interest nationally important, so deficient in natural scenery comparable with that of most of her sister states, has at least one spot which in both these particulars, ranks high.

To give the proper background it will be necessary for those of us who have not recently read our Parkman, or the latest book of Illinois history, "Historic Illinois," to review some of the most important steps in the discovery of inland America.

It is one of the curious things in the exploration of the New World, that the Mississippi Valley was for nearly two hundred years after North America was discovered, an unvisited and unknown region. While the Spaniard had invaded and plundered Mexico and South America, had penetrated into the remotest corners of the present Southwestern United States, and had in the one disastrous journey of DeSoto, actually visited the southern part of the valley, yet the outlines of the northern continental mass were unknown after one hundred and fifty years of exploration and settlement on its eastern coast. Indeed it was not until quite three hundred years after 1492 that definite and exact outlines of North America were known. Perhaps, however, this slowness of exploration, this laggard spirit in penetrating into the interior of the continent, is no more strange than the fact that it was left to the contemporaries of men still living to discover the sources of the Nile.

While the history of the English and Dutch Colonies in the New World is taught with reiteration and wearisome detail to every school boy, nothing like the same attention is given to the discovery and settlement by the French in the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Valley, yet these were the regions of the greatest importance in North America, and their exploration and occupation by civilized man was of vastly more value to the nation that was to be, than was that of the rocky, sterile and forest covered Atlantic Coast which the English occupied for almost a century and a half without penetrating inland more than a hundred miles.

It is necessary, then, to recall a few great names in the long list of French explorers. Cartier must be mentioned for he was the first

*A paper read before the Chicago Literary Club, December 18, 1905.

European to sail up the St. Lawrence as far as modern Montreal in 1535. He, like so many of his kind then and later, was engaged in the old search of Columbus, a way through or around the continent to the Indies or China. Cartier was stopped by the rapids in the St. Lawrence River, and these rapids coupled with the fierce enmity of the Iroquois Indians who occupied the region south of the river, deflected others who followed in his footsteps. The result was that the Great Lakes were not discovered by the plan of tracing them through the St. Lawrence and then exploring them in the order of their arrangement; rather, they were discovered by an entirely different route.

Although season after season French fishermen came to the banks of New Foundland to fish, much as described in Pierre Loti's classic of the "Iceland Fishermen," yet it was two generations, sixty eight years after Cartier's trip up the St. Lawrence, before another great Frenchman, Champlain, came up the river in 1603, as far as Cartier had come, and like him, was stopped by the rapids.

For thirty-two years this leader was busied in visiting France, planting and administering colonies, and making explorations or sending others to explore. The way up the Ottawa River seemed to be the easiest, and thus it came about that in the year 1615 Champlain, preceded ten days before by a priest, Jac le Caron, passed up the Ottawa through Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, and was the first except Le Caron to see Lake Huron on its northern and eastern sides. On his return overland he also discovered Lake Ontario. Nineteen years later, Champlain sent out Jean Nicolet, who went by way of the Ottawa route, across the northern part of Lake Huron and the straights of Mackinac, into Green Bay, thus making Michigan the third of the Great Lakes to be known. The progress of exact exploration was slow, and twenty-five years rolled by before any white man reported more, and then in 1659 Radisson and Grosselliers coasted the south shore of Lake Superior and wintered at or near its western end. These and others reported the finding of copper on Lake Superior, and the French Governor at Montreal sent out an American born youth of 24 years, Louis Joliet, in 1668, to find out more concerning these copper mines, just as Champlain had sent Nicolet thirty-four years before. It was on this expedition that, instead of returning by the Ottawa, Joliet coasting down the west shore of Lake Huron, to its south end, became the discoverer of Lake Erie, although because he did not follow it to its eastern end, he failed to become the discoverer of Niagara. It was therefore fifty-four years after the first lake was seen, and one hundred and fifty years after Cartier, before the continuity and relation of the lakes to each other was known and a water way to the interior of the continent disclosed other than by the toilsome journey up the Ottawa with its wearisome portages.

By this time the French fur traders had penetrated far into the wilderness, (Hudson's Bay had long been known and visited by both English and French), some lived with the Indians for years at a time, and just who was the first to paddle up any stream, or who first saw any particular lake, we cannot know, but may only give our praise to

those men of intelligence and purpose who recorded what they saw' There was now a clear appreciation of the fact that the lakes had limits and that the way to the East was not through them, but rumors heard by and reports made to the traders and missionaries, of a "great water" beyond, excited the hope of the French that there might be an ocean not far away, or a river running into the Western Sea. To settle this question, Count Frontenac in 1672 chose to send out Louis Joliet, now a man of 28 years, to visit and ascertain what this "great water" was. Joliet left Montreal in the fall of 1672 and wintered with a priest friend of his, Father Marquette, at Mackinac, where the two completed their plans to make the journey which made both famous. Thus it was that there set out from Mackinac on May 1, 1673, two birch bark canoes with five men as assistants and guides, the expedition which first discovered the upper Mississippi valley. It is true that probably Radisson and Grosseilliers, fifteen years earlier, may have seen the Mississippi and the Missouri, but they made no intelligible report of what they found. This trip of Joliet and Marquette was only four months in duration, but it stands out as the most famous in the annals of American inland exploration. They passed up the Fox River of Wisconsin from Green Bay to the Wisconsin portage and down that river to the Mississippi, down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas and returned to Green Bay by way of the Illinois River, the Chicago portage and Lake Michigan. For the first time was the mystery of the "Great Water" dispelled. The heart of the continent was known, a discovery second only to that of the continent itself.

It was on this journey of Joliet and Marquette in September of 1673 that the rock indicated by the title of this paper was first seen by white men. Its first claim upon our attention is that here in the valley opposite it was found that semi-permanent village, the largest and most important one of the tribe of Indians from which the state took its name. It was called by Marquette, Kaskaskia, and the name was transferred with the removal of the tribe, to the well known town of the same name on the Mississippi, which later became the first capital of the state.

The name "Starved Rock" is the present popular title of a rocky formation on the south side of the Illinois River, about eight miles west of the city of Ottawa. The region is so different from that crossed by most prairie streams that it is geologically interesting. Here the waters of the Illinois traverse, for a distance of about fifteen miles, outcropping St. Peter's sandstone. At some time in the ice age, when the glacial cap covered northern North America, and a huge glacier occupied the bed of Lake Michigan, its waters, as it melted and receded northward, found their way in a mighty stream down the valley of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee into the Illinois, swept across this sandstone uplift and eroded a valley a mile wide, and from forty to a hundred and forty feet deep. The floor of this valley is 100 feet lower than Lake Michigan, and it is possible in that remote age that there may have been a western Niagara at the end of the rocky uplift a couple of miles away. It would be easy now

to build a dam across the valley at this point and secure a waterfall at least seventy-five feet high.

The result of this erosion has been to produce side walls for several miles above and below Starved Rock as sharply defined as palisades, sometimes abutting on the river, sometimes half a mile inland. The rock itself is only a surviving escarpment detached from the main bluff, some hundreds of yards distant, but no higher than it. Many are the estimates of the height of the rock as given by those who first saw it. One account gives about 500 feet, as late as Blanchard's historical map of the state in 1883, it is put down as being 250 feet high, the circular distributed by the present owners gives a hundred and forty-seven feet, while Parkman and others state that it is a hundred and twenty-five feet, which is probably sufficiently exact. The rock is fortunate in its setting for it does not stand up sheer and alone as I first pictured it in my mind, overlooking a level prairie, but it is separated on the east by a deep tree-filled ravine from another escarpment almost equally high. Back and south of it and stretching up and down the valley as far as the eye can reach, is a palisaded, forest-covered bluff. Thanks to the ruggedness of this bank, it has not been defaced by country roads, railroads or trolley lines, and the neighborhood still retains much of the unspoiled natural growth of the trees, shrubs, wild flowers and ferns, as fresh and primitive as when first seen in 1673 by Marquette and Joliet. Not the least of the delights of those who thread their way up and down this wooded river shore, is the discovery each one can make for himself in the absence of signs and well made paths, of the beautiful and romantic little canyons and gorges leading back into the very rocky heart of the palisades. Here you find, in minature, all the wonder work of water and stone which is revealed on so much larger a scale in the Yosemite or canyon of the Yellowstone. They are greater but no fuller of charm than these hidden, rocky walled inlets decorated with ferns and lichens with some lone cedar or pine standing high above your head on an inaccessible, rocky ledge. This broad valley, extending for ten miles between the mouth of the Fox River on the north side and the mouth of the Vermilion on the south side had for unknown centuries been the favorite home and camping place of the primitive races. Sheltered on the north by a forest clad bluff 100 feet high, its warm and sandy floor, threaded by a noble stream, serving as a canoe water way with its ramifying head waters leading in many directions, it formed the most attractive assembling place in this region for the Indian. Mound-builder remains are found along the bluffs, while the whole valley bears evidence of being a burial place for many generations of a later time. As late as 1818 Gurdon S. Hubbard found here the largest village of Potawattomies he had ever seen. Thus, then, the rock may be considered the most striking monument to the Red race in the State of Illinois.

It was here that Marquette determined to establish a missionary station and the next year after his trip with Joliet he set out from Green Bay to redeem a promise he had made to the Illinois tribe to return to them. His perilous journey, his lonely winter spent in a wretched cabin on the site of the present Chicago, his struggling

forward in spite of his fast failing health, make a pathetic story of loyalty to ideals which can never be too often told, and the few brief weeks spent by him on this spot in 1675 have an historic distinction of the highest value. Under a commission received from Quebec, he established almost beneath the shadow of the rock, the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception," a mission which under other priests continued for twenty-five years, and was then removed for reasons we shall hear of later, to Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. The distinction remains, however, that on this spot was established the first organized effort to spread the religion of Christendom in the Mississippi Valley. The rock may then be considered as the monument to the first Missionary in the great valley.

No one can approach the rock, however, without being most impressed by its relation to LaSalle. His name, I fear, has become a vague legendary name to most, for I doubt if many can tell what René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, did achieve. He did not discover much especially new, he was not the pathfinder, but he was something more than this. It was he who appreciated the discoveries that had been made in the interior of the continent and formulated plans which make him stand out as the empire builder of his age. He conceived the idea of a great New France, which should control the valley of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. He planned colonies to be guarded by a chain of forts reaching from Montreal to the mouth of the Mississippi, and while the execution of his plans was scarcely more than begun when his death came by assassination, at the age of 43, LaSalle's policy became the policy of the French kings, and the first feeble beginnings which he made were developed later into a series of sixty forts and colonies reaching from Quebec down into modern New York and Pennsylvania, and including all of the east side of the valley to the mouth of the river. He formed plans, urged them upon others, raised his own funds, led the way, and saw beyond his own immediate time the great future which was in store for the occupiers of this region. Most of the discoveries heretofore made were the result of the journeys of fur trading adventurers or priests. The former hoped to acquire wealth rapidly in order to retire to the St. Lawrence settlements or to France, the latter sought with missionary zeal to civilize and christianize the native races. Several of the most important explorations were made by hired leaders of expeditions sent out by the government, as illustrated by Nicolet and Joliet who were dispatched to settle some disputed question of lake, river or mine.

But LaSalle in his brief career of twenty years did many first things. Inadvertently he gave the name to the rapids above Montreal, for his countrymen called him a dreamer in his ambition to find his way to China through the west, and so called his establishment near the rapids in derision La China, whence the name Lachine was transferred to them. It was he who in 1669 or 1670 first explored the Ohio River. It was he on the same trip who noted the roar of Niagara, but did not stop to find out whence it came until eight years later when on another expedition, his party first saw them, the honor of describing and sketching them falling to Father Hennepin whom

LaSalle had sent along with a group of men to find a way around the falls. In 1678 LaSalle was the first to build and sail a boat on the Great Lakes. The "Griffin's" one short lived trip from opposite modern Buffalo to Green Bay was the first ever made on these waters, and as such should be retold by all who hold in loving remembrance the memory of first things. LaSalle was the first to journey from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Mississippi and back again, and he sent out the party which explored the upper Mississippi and discovered St. Anthony's Falls. He was the first to claim for a European power the right of ownership by discovery, which he did at the mouth of the river, in 1682 with impressive ceremony and grand words. He was the first to give the name of Louisiana to a region vaster than he dreamed. Three times did he visit France to urge upon Louis XV. and his Minister, Colbert, the granting of lands, the giving of the rights of ownership and governmental authority, and privilege of founding colonies.

The rock was first seen by LaSalle and his party in his trip down the Illinois in 1679 and 1680, when they wintered at Fort Crévecoeur near modern Peoria. This spot is often referred to at the first permanent location from which the flag of a civilized nation was flung to the winds in the Mississippi Valley, and the name is set down as of marked importance on many maps of the period. It cannot be regarded, however, much more seriously than any temporary camp fortified against Indian attacks by a log stockade. It was not planned in advance, and between January 3, 1680, when the spot was reached, and March 1st, when LaSalle left it in charge of Tonty, whose men soon mutinied and abandoned it and him, there was an interval of occupation of about ten or twelve weeks only. It was never occupied again. LaSalle recognized its temporary character and on his way up stream surveyed the rock at whose base the river flowed. We do not know just where LaSalle reared the cross at the mouth of the Mississippi, the site of Crévecoeur has never been identified, but we do know that the only spot pressed by the foot of LaSalle in the Mississippi Valley, of which we are sure, is the summit of this sandstone cliff, which he mounted in the month of March, 1680, and planned to locate here his first fort and colony in the Mississippi Valley. It was in December of the year 1682 after the successful trip to the mouth of the Mississippi and return that the actual fortification of the rock was begun and named "Fort St. Louis du Rocher." It was a strategic spot guarding the easiest travelled waterway between the lakes and the valley, whether the portage was made by the St. Joseph-Kankakee or the Chicago-DesPlaines route. This, I take it is the chief reason among so many, that this spot should be held in lasting rememberance by all the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley. Here was first established a real settlement by white men. LaSalle was authorized by the king to start a colony here; a regular garrison was provided, Henri de Tonty placed in command and so continued for twenty years. It was intermittently occupied for eighteen years after that, so that for a generation this was a place of refuge where there was safety, comfort and rest. Under the protecting influence of the soldiers the friendly Indians assembled, assured of defense against

their dreaded foe, the Iroquois. At one time LaSalle estimated that there were 20,000 encamped in the valley and on the bluffs. From this spot new explorations and expeditions were planned. The priests, themselves, sometimes had their home on the rock within the sheltering walls of the fort. Towards this place of refuge was LaSalle making his way, in 1687, from the disastrous attempt to plant a colony at the mouth of the river, but which was stranded on the Texas coast, when he was assassinated by some dissatisfied men in his party. Here the survivors finally arrived and spent the winter before going on to Montreal. Henry de Tonty, in command, was LaSalle's most trusted lieutenant, an Italian by birth, whose father's name was given to a popular form of life insurance, rendered most valuable service, and is held in reverent memory as the soldier with the iron hand and loyal heart—the first governor in the Illinois country.

That this was not a permanent settlement was due in part, perhaps, to LaSalle's untimely death, and to causes connected with the Illinois Indians, who were compelled by the incessant forays made upon them by warring tribes to the north and east to migrate to a place on the Mississippi where the mission and name of Kaskaskia was taken, and also to the fact that the French began to use other portage ways between the lakes and the great river.

Before and after the French occupation, the rock was often a battle ground between the warring Indians. Tonty has described a skirmish between the Iroquois and the Illinois in which he nearly lost his life in 1682. The same Iroquois beseiged the rock while Tonty and his garrison were in charge, The Fox tribe drove to the top a branch of the Illinois tribe in 1722 and there beseiged them. Two generations later occurred the tragedy which has given the rock its unfortunate name. That a remnant of the Illinois tribe were driven to the top and besieged until all but about a half dozen who escaped in canoes were either starved or killed, was the tradition told to the first English settlers of the state. This story was, and is, believed to have some basis of fact and is the last echo of the destruction of the tribe who gave the name to the river and the state, which is a fitting crown to its memories of Indian warfare.

Another very different sort of distinction belongs to this neighborhood. We have become so used to coal and take it so for granted like air and water, that unless shocked into a realizing sense by a coal strike. that it is the mainspring of our daily lives, we seldom think of how great a debt we owe to it. Coal was not known to the ancient world, hence the dense population and great cities were in warm climates. Coal has moved the dense population of the world 500 to 1,000 miles north. It is only about six centuries since it was commonly used in England. None had been found or used in the New World until its discovery near the rock by some of LaSalle's first parties.

It may have been seen first at the mouth of the Fox River near which on Thevenot's map of 1681 we find marked "Charbon de terre," the first map mention of coal; it may have been first picked up on

top of Buffalo Rock a little farther down the stream, or it may have been noticed in the eroded banks of the Vermilion River where it was exposed. In any event, the record is clear that the first mention we have of the finding of coal in the New World was in the neighborhood of the rock and the first mention of its use is in the forge placed within the stockade of "Fort St. Louis du Rocher." Whoever kindled the flame which started the little column of smoke from the forge erected on the rock two hundred and twenty-three years ago, little understood that he was the forerunner, the first to use a force of greater value to the nation to be, than all its precious metals and forests combined and that he had stumbled upon the discovery of the northern boundary of a coal field greater than any in all the known world besides and second only in importance to the discovery of the valley itself.

After the age of the French had passed, after the Indians had gone west of the Mississippi and the white man begun to occupy the state we still find many notable happenings occurring in sight of the rock. When on July 4th, 1833, John Dean Caton sat on the seat and cracked the whip over the four horses which drew the first stage on the newly started stage line between Chicago and St. Louis and piloted it to Ottawa, one end of that stage line stopped just beyond the rock at Peru where the steamboats on the Illinois which ran to St. Louis had their wharves. This valley was a natural highway long before the white man came. He took it and made it a stage way to the deeper waters of the river, and in the succeeding twenty-five years the rock looked down upon the great stream of permanent settlers who came, some of them by the lake route and Chicago, some by the river routes up stream, where the boats stopped and started near its base. In the years when there was a daily boat during the summer months from Peru to St. Louis and Frink & Walker's Stage Line ran six to eight four-horse stages from there to Chicago, the rock witnessed the critical and formative period of the settlement of the state in which time its population increased by half a million.

The first mention of an artificial waterway from the lakes to the Mississippi was made by Joliet in 1673. It must have been noticed by nearly every man who passed that way and when the first wonderful engineering triumph of that day, the Illinois-Michigan canal, was completed in 1848 after twelve years of failure and success, since the canal ended almost at its base, the rock looked down upon this new mingling of the lake and valley waters as it must have looked down upon it centuries before. The rock has seen the age of stage development and the age of canal development and was also destined to be near the first important step in the railway stage of development. When that peculiar and first of the land-grant railroads, the Illinois Central, was conceived, its engineer started the northern end of the line about one mile away from the rock. Roswell B. Mason went from Chicago by packet boat on the canal to start his surveying and construction parties in sight of the old rock, and since that time it has looked down upon the ceaseless stream of human travel by rail, as it has witnessed it by the red man's canoe, his overland trail, the

explorer's boats. the pioneer's stage roads and the canal, the predecessor of the railway.

These old roads have stories of their own to tell and we might with interest take a whole evening on them alone. A digression here may not be inopportune. The first one which was used between Chicago and Ottawa may be considered as beginning at the corner of Madison Street and Odgen Avenue with its memories of Chicago's first stock yards. From there to Lyons it was almost a directly straight line, indeed, Odgen Avenue itself is but a continuation of this old stage entrance to the city. From Lyons, the road ran straight away across the counties of Du Page, Will and Kendall with scarcely a crook or a curve, via Plainfield, Plattville and Lisbon. The cheerful directness of this way indicates clearly its origin before the day of the surveyor when the driver followed whatever direction he chose on a treeless prairie. But while this was a little the shorter route, another became quite as popular and as it is the more picturesque of the two we will linger a little along the way. The two roads diverge at Lyons, the second running in a westerly direction paralleling the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad as far as Naperville. Seventeen miles out we reach Fullersburg, one of the accustomed eating places whose two old hotels, fast falling into decay, cherish memories of Lincoln—and old inhabitants tell of a speech from the front porch of one—doubtless the only building near Chicago still having such a tale to tell. From Fullersburg to Downer's Grove and from there to Naperville, the road goes over a rolling country giving distant views of ten or twenty miles over a wide range of billowy prairie, and at intervals winds along through well preserved woodlands. So far we have come over a route also used by the Galena line of stages, but at Naperville we turn squarely to the southwest and with the same freedom from right angles displayed by the other route, go almost directly to Ottawa with only slight divergences from a straight line. We come in sight of the Fox river at Oswego crossing a half mile earlier a spring fed brook which keeps alive the memory of Waubansia—conspicuous as the white man's friend in the Fort Dearborn massacre and the Black Hawk War. As we follow along the forest clad river bank for several miles we note two or three miles away across the prairie some rounded wooded elevations. To those who know, these are interesting as keeping alive memories of two other Indians of early Chicago. These were the two reservations of Waishkeshaw and Mohaway. Waishkeshaw was a Pottawatomie Indian woman who was given a thousand acres of forest here in 1829. She sold it in 1835 to Joseph Laframboise, one of the fourteen tax payers in Chicago in 1825. A tract of forest adjoining was given to the widow of the Indian, Wolf, whose name was applied to the angle of land formed by the junction of the north and south branches of the Chicago river. "Ma-hwa-wa" was the Algonquin word for wolf, so it is the Mohaway Reservation. Somewhere in this general neighborhood occurred the incident told so pleasantly in Mrs. Kinzie's Waubun, when in 1831 she and her husband, journeying to Chicago, lost, half famished and chilled, were

rescued by a squaw and her husband and kept over night in their wigwam.

Almost in sight as we turn away from the woods about Yorkville some miles away at the right, occured a battle between whites and their Indian allies on one side and the Fox tribe of Indians on the other which is comparable, and like in kind, to the Pequod War or the Great Swamp Fight in New England's Indian warfare history. Here, one thousand Foxes, warriors, women and children were besieged, starved and slaughtered to the number of 300 by an army of 1,400 French and Indians. This occured in 1730 and has all been told with great detail in "Lost Meramech and Earliest Chicago" published two years ago by Mr. J. F. Steward.

A little farther along the road we pass the houses of families whose lives were saved through the Paul Revere ride of Shabbona's messengers at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. Thus we might go on, talking as we go of the story of Indian warfare or pioneer trials and adventure which almost every strip of woodland, hill, valley and stream has to tell.

The rock had its first conspicuous mention in the writings of Parkman, where it is given much attention in his two volumes on LaSalle; it is necessarily commented on by every writer on early Illinois history from Breese to Parrish, who has chosen its picture as a frontispiece to his recently published volume "Historic Illinois." About ten years ago, Mr. E. G. Osman rendered a distinct service by publishing an admiral pamphlet giving in brief form the essential facts of the interesting incidents connected with the rock. Mrs. Catherwood in "Tonty" has woven a story about the life which once centered there. In spite of this growing literature, however, Starved Rock, which should be as well known as Jamestown or Plymouth, is still unappreciated by the people of the state and the nation.

Other states are setting aside forested areas, making parks around old forts and battlefields, caring for historic buildings, through the initiative of patriotic and beauty loving citizens or societies, such as the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, the American Civic Association, the American Outdoor Art and Park Association and the several patriotic societies of both men and women. To such efforts do we owe New York's forest reservations in the Adirondacks and Catskills, the state park at Niagara Falls, and the Palisade Park on the Hudson opposite New York; Massachusett's reservations of Wachusetts, Greylock and Mount Tom; Connecticut's preservation of the old camp grounds where the Northern Army of the Revolution spent the winter of 1778-79; Pennsylvania's hundred thousand dollar expenditure on the site of Valley Forge; California's reservation of scenic marvels of cliffs, streams and forests; Minnesota's forest reserves near Mankato and interstate park, in conjunction with Wisconsin, of the Delles of the St. Croix. This is but a short enumeration of the movement in many cities and states to preserve from destruction for future generations places which would otherwise be lost sight of or their beauty marred or destroyed.

Is it too much to hope that a state which has a spot so beautiful and around which cluster so many memories of the race which gave it its name, of the pathetically noble Marquette; of "one of the greatest men of his age" as the almost equally great Tonty called his chief, LaSalle, around which cluster so many memories of the first mission, of the first garrison and of the first colony, may some day, and soon, enshrine in a forest reservation of ten thousand acres, this rock so that it may become a place of pilgrimage in centuries yet to come for the childrens' children who shall crowd its fertile and responsive soil? A great city which is considering the preservation of the beauty spots near it might well reach out to this delightful place one hundred miles away, with which it is connected still by the old stage roads and the waterways, and help save this too from the vandal.

## 2. A JOURNEY FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO ILLINOIS IN 1830.[1]

(By Dr. William Conkey.)

At the earnest solicitation of my friend, Judge Cunningham, one of the promoters of this society, I consented to present a paper setting forth a few incidents of the trip (as I now remember them) of the immigration of my father and his family from Massachusetts to Illinois in the year 1830. Some few years previous to that time a brother of my mother's from the adjoining town to our residence, against the wishes and entreaties of his friends, relatives and neighbors, started west to see if he could find a country presenting better facilities for a permanent home than he had among the hills and rocks of the East. He had a distant relative of his wife living in Vigo county, Indiana, and to that point they drifted; and after examining the country around there went west to the prairies of Illinois which presented such an inviting appearance to him that he at once decided to stop there and make it his future home, being near Paris, the county seat of Edgar county. The glowing descriptions he gave his old associates of the country he had found induced my father to join him in Illinois. My oldest brother having preceded the rest of the family a year or so before, and having purchased a forty-acre tract of land adjoining his uncle's for the use of the family on which to make a new start in life. Some time about the first of May, 1830, we bade goodbye, to the old homestead in Charlemont, Franklin county, Mass., and the old friends and neighbors, which to them seemed more like a funeral than a temporary separation, and started with such household goods, clothing, etc., as loaded two wagons and teams, hired for the purpose of conveying them to Troy, N. Y., a distance of about fifty miles, at which place we were joined by a brother and sister of my mother's with a span of horses and a light wagon which accompanied our family the entire trip. Remaining in Troy two or three days, we got passage on a canal boat for the entire family (save the uncle who drove his team to Buffalo), the family then being my father, mother, aunt, a sister aged 13 and myself, five in all. After a slow and tedious trip we joined my uncle and team again at Buffalo, a distance of about 250 miles from Troy.

[1] This paper was read by the author at a meeting of the Champaign Historical Society.

The trip while on the canal was a slow and tedious one. Not having any record of the time and after an absence of nearly seventy years, I will not attempt to say how long it took us. It was on this part of our journey that I first heard boys scientifically swear; it seemed that at every change of horses and drivers the new driver endeavored to show us that he could do more hard swearing than any of our former ones, and I think if such a thing were possible our last one was entitled to the plum.

On our arrival at Buffalo we had to wait two or three days before we were able to get passage to Perrysburg, situated on the lake at the mouth of the Maumee river, at or near where Toledo is now situated. Having succeeded in getting passage on a popular schooner commanded by Captain Wilkinson, an old lake captain, we loaded our goods, horses and wagon on board, and with a few other men going west and with two additional ladies, took possession of the cabin, located in the "hole" of the craft and quite a cosy, neat apartment.

When supper was announced a majority of the passengers asked to be excused from participating, the rolling of the boat having relieved them from all feeling of hunger, besides occupying their time in attending to the duties required to keep their stomachs from getting in their mouths; but fortunately I had not yet taken the disease and was able to do justice to the good things we had for supper, awaiting my time until later.

Sometime after midnight a heavy storm came up; the waters became very angry and occasionally a wave would wash over our boat so that the most of those who did not want any supper forgot their sickness and fully expected to go where sickness never comes. Before morning, and to clap the climax, a very strong gale of wind broke the mainmast of our craft and all below at the crash expected to find themselves at the bottom of the lake, but about this time the fury of the storm began to abate and with the smaller mast the sailors kept the boat in an upright position until daybreak when at about 10 or 11 o'clock they landed at Dunkirk and rigged another mainmast so that by dark they were in condition to proceed, but waited until the latter part of the night before they left.

Before starting from Buffalo they had erected a good strong fence or pen around our horses which were on top of the boat and fortunately when the mast broke it fell in such a direction as not to strike them. Well, when morning came and breakfast was ready, and the tenderfooted found they were alive, the most of them partook of such diet as they thought their stomachs would stand. Now in all seriousness this was no pleasant trip, so far, and in after years the recollection of that night brought up memories in the minds of most of those present that were far from pleasant.

The next night after leaving Dunkirk the lake again became very rough, accompanied by high winds that drove our boat and stranded it in shallow water near Long Point, which extends into the lake from the Canada side, and not to exceed one-fourth of a mile from the main land; and on getting up in the morning we found ourselves fast on the sand and all that could be done was to remain there until we

could attract the attention of some passing boat for our relief by coming to our assistance and lightening our boat so it would again float. As soon as it became light enough our captain had his flag of distress run up to the highest point of our mainmast, but, having by the wind been driven so far north and out of the usual track, we remained in our then present position for five days and nights before our distress signal was seen, when a passing schooner discovered it, came to our relief, and after taking on enough of our cargo to allow our boat to again float, we got into deeper water and reloading our freight again, proceeded on our voyage.

Having been delayed there so long our provisions were getting short, but got a supply from our rescuer to relieve us until we landed at Cleveland without any suffering except food for our horses, which while stranded, had eaten all we had provided for them, and the Canada shore having no show of vegetation, we unpacked several crates of Queensware on board and fed them the dirty, musty straw which they ate with avidity and which kept them alive until we reached Cleveland. Before getting to the pier we sailed along close to the land for quite a distance where stock was grazing on the green grass, which our starved horses aboard discovered, and they became perfectly frantic and so cross that the sailors passing them on deck dared not go near them. When we got to where we could take them off and to where they could get something to eat they soon got all right.

Here we also took our wagon off the boat and my uncle drove them to Perrysburg, getting there a few days after the boat arrived, and where we waited until he joined us. Here we saw many Indians, and in fact hardly a day passed until we got to Logansport, Ind., that we did not encounter more or less of them.

While awaiting the arrival of uncle with the team, at Perrysburg, we contracted to be conveyed by keel boat up the Maumee River to Ft. Wayne, Ind., a distance of about ninety miles on a straight line, but how far by that tortuous course of the river I don't know; it seemed a long way. Our crew was composed of a captain who steered the boat, and six men, three of which worked on each side of the boat and propelled the craft by long poles, the lower end of each pole covered with a sheath of iron drawn to a point, and by walking from stern to bow dragging the poles thus equipped, and then facing the stern of the boat, placing the lower end on the bottom of the river and the upper end against their shoulders, pushing the boat the length of it and getting up a speed to carry it along until they walked again to the bow and repeated their trip to stern as before stated, walking on a wide board with slats nailed across the top to prevent their slipping, and when the boat is loaded is but a few inches above the water.

At Perrysburg we again put our wagon on board the boat and either uncle or father rode one of the horses and led the other; there was no wagon road the most of the way, only a trail traveled by the mail carrier on horseback and marked by cutting three notches in each side of a tree occasionally as a guide. After arriving at Fort

Wayne (an old town from the appearance of the buildings, and I think a population not exceeding two or three hundred) we were compelled to remain there until our men folks went across a low flat timbered country some twelve or fifteen miles to the Wabash River to see what the chance was, if any, to get transportation down said stream to a point about seven miles above Terre Haute.

They were gone three or four days and on their return reported that the only chance to get down said stream that they could find or hear about was to purchase a pirogue and float down. They accordingly found one made of a large poplar tree, about fifty feet in length, holding its size pretty well its entire length, the inside measure at the large end nearly three feet and the small end about twenty-eight inches. This they purchased, the party agreeing to have it at a certain place where it could be reached by wagon from Ft. Wayne, and returned.

We then engaged a couple of wagons and teams to haul us to the river in a day, but owing to the condition of the roads and no wagons having passed over them since the fall before, trees had been blown down and across the track, some of which were where we could not get around, and consequently had to spend so much time in removing them that dark overtook us some four miles from the river. We consequently halted and after building a big fire interested the female portion of our party in preparing supper. We then changed the position of the load in one wagon so as to get a sleeping place for my mother and her sister, while my sister and I stowed ourselves away: and there we all spent the first night of our lives in a wagon, while the older males of the party put in the time until morning keeping up the fire and spinning yarns, after having satisfied some six or eight Indians who visited them (having been attracted by the fire) that we had no whiskey.

The next morning after getting breakfast we struck out and found our boat, in which we proceeded to place our freight, having plenty of room for sleeping quarters. Here again we loaded on our boat our wagon, and, as on part of our voyage previously spoken of, one of the older ones travelled with the horses, saluting our craft occasionally through the day, and if convenient, staying with us at night. The weather was warm and comfortable and by this time (it being June) we leisurely floated along for several days without anything unusual occurring. Almost any one of us could steer our craft until one night when altogether and all asleep the moon having gone down and hardly a ripple on the water, our craft tipped to one side and before we could get it righted up was at least one-third full of water; and attracted by a noise on shore like the cracking of brush we were fully satisfied that someone had stepped upon the edge of our craft, as we always thought, for the purpose of purloining something, and having tipped our boat and at the same time awakened its occupants, left in a hurry; and on the next morning we found footsteps to and also going in the direction of the cracking heard the night before. After righting up our boat we went to work and dipped all the water out

we could get, and where our clothes were wet replaced them by dry ones but we did no more sleeping that night.

The next day was bright and warm and again we started on our journey, and as luck would have it, my uncle, who was with the horses, found another pirogue nearly as large as the first one, only about thirty-five feet long, which he bought, and when we got along he hailed us in good time to land, when they lashed the two boats together and made a very safe and commodious craft. The only thing missed from our boat was my mother's willow work basket in which she had her knitting and other work, which we found the next morning in a drift about a mile below where it was tipped out the night before.

The balance of our trip was free from any other mishaps worthy of note, drifting with the current by day and tying up at night, making stops only at towns occasionally to replenish our larder, until we arrived at Durkee's Ferry, seven miles above Terre Haute, where we found my oldest brother, who had come to meet us, and a representative of the distant relative of my uncle and wife, spoken of in the fore part of this paper, tendering us the hospitality of their home until we could get moved to our destination, which invitation was thankfully received, and on the same day had our goods conveyed there and remained until everything was unpacked and such as had got wet from the tipping over of our craft, thoroughly dried.

After a day or two my father and uncle with our own conveyance drove to the place of our destination, about fifteen miles west, where father procured a couple of yoke of oxen and a wagon and returned to where he had left us. After reloading a portion of our goods he returned to where he had procured a log cabinn in the neighborhood, and in which we remained until he built a house on the land heretofore spoken of. My father permitted me to accompany him with the first load. The first nine miles of the road was through timber when we struck the Grand Prairie as it was then called. The grass waving in the beautiful sunlight of June and all the wild flowers indignous to the prairies bowing their heads to the breeze, presented a sight that I thought the most beautiful I had ever beheld, the remembrance of which, notwithstanding seventy years have passed and gone since then, is still as vivid to my mind, it seems, as the day when I first viewed the beauties of the grand old prairies of Illinois.

This brings us to the end of our trip, a distance of 820 miles in straight lines as follows: from Charlemont to Troy, fifty; thence to Buffalo, 250; thence to Perrysburg, 240; thence to Ft. Wayne, ninety; thence to Durkee's Ferry, 180; thence to destination, fifteen; said computations being from points named derived from the scale of miles marked on the map of each state traveled. Taking into account the tortuous course of the streams navigated, and land traveled, the distance was at least 1,000 miles.

THE ARMAMENT OF FORT CHARTRES.

The animus of this paper is—
First, to refute the time-worn tradition—repeated by as eminent an authority as Judge Breese—that the French soldiers, before surrendering Fort Chartres, in 1765, threw all its cannon, small arms and ammunition into the wells; and.
Second, to set out in clearer light the true location and descripti of the real Fort Gagé, in Kaskaskia. J. F. S.

# THE ARMAMENT OF FORT CHARTRES,

(By J. F. Snyder.)

After the British abandoned Fort Chartres, in 1772, destruction of the splendid fortress, begun by the aggressive currents of the Mississippi, progressed rapidly. Hastened on by the ravages of surrounding settlers, the process of ruin was far more speedy and complete than it could have been by the agency of natural forces alone. The surging waters of the mighty river that rose in the majesty of their power and for a brief time swept over the prairies of the bottom, had no sooner receded to their normal limits than the Fort was plundered of everything conveniently portable that the escaping British had failed to remove. And then commenced the carting away of its great exterior walls and interior buildings, constructed of finely cut stone, by people for miles around who resorted to it as a free quarry yielding a vast supply of ready building material; for in those days taking timber, or anything else, from land belonging to the public, or to the government, was not considered an infraction of either moral or civil law. And that code of ethics has not been entirely outgrown in the present age.

From its evacuation by the English garrison, in 1772, to 1849, when the United States government offered the Fort Chartres reservation for private entry—a period of seventy-seven years—it was wholly unoccupied, and, spoliation of its architectural grandeur completed, the dismal ruins of the Fort, buried in as dense a vine, choked forest as were the remains of Uxmal and Palenque at that era, were well calculated to excite the imagination of the ignorant and superstitious with a variety of weird fancies. Its history forgotten, or never known, few of the bravest inhabitants of its vicinity could be induced for any consideration to approach that once impregnable seat of power after darkness had set in. For the strange lights said to be seen there in the night, and the hideous laughter and unearthly yells resounding through the dark woods, left no doubt that the place was haunted by as uncouth an array of hobgoblins as Tam O'Shanter saw in old Kirk Alloway.

In daylight, however, cupidity overcame ghostly fears. The secret leaked out by certain sages, who gained the information, they said, from the remnant of Indians who were the last to leave that region, that the French officers of the Fort, just before their final desperate engagement with the English, in which they were all either killed or fatally wounded, seeing their defeat and extermination inevitable, had buried within the walls a vast amount of silver plate and gold and silver coin. For years that mythical treasure was eagerly sought by the credulous, who stealthily did extensive digging in all parts of the area formerly enclosed by the walls.

Another secret that has survived to the present day whispered in confidence to a later generation, was to the effect that just before the precipitate flight of the French soldiers from the Fort when suddenly over-whelmed by the British hosts, to cheat the victors of the spoils, they threw into the wells all the armament, munitions and ordnance stores of the Fort that they could not take away with them. Only two years ago an enterprising correspondent writing from the town of Red Bud in Randolph county to a St. Louis Sunday newspaper concerning Fort Chartres, after detailing the stratagem employed by Colonel George Rogers Clark to capture the Fort, by marching his few men, in full view of it, around and around a point of the bluff, changing each time their clothing and flags, in order to give the besieged French the impressiom of a much larger force than he actually had—the trick that Colonel Clark really did play in his capture of Fort Sackville, at Vincennes in February, 1779,—reiterated the old tradition that before their surrender the despairing garrison threw all the cannon and arms of the Fort into the wells, that they would not fall into the hands of their captors. He further gravely stated that a stock company was then being organized in Red Bud to recover from the old wells at Fort Chartres "sixteen bronze cannon, a thousand muskets and other small arms, together with a large quantity of cannon balls and grape shot known to be there."

That old story of the Fort Chartres guns thrown into the wells has often been repeated, and accepted without question as true by people profoundly ignorant of Illinois history. But that it was believed by a scholar so well and deeply versed in the early history of our State as was Judge Sidney Breese is truly surprising. He had prepared with laborious study and care an address to be delivered at Kaskaskia on the Fourth of July, 1878, at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the capture of that town by Col. George Rogers Clark, but when on his way there died very suddenly at Pinckneyville, on the Twenty-seventh of June, seven days before the contemplated celebration. His executors having expanded that address into a volume in 1884, published it, entitled, "Early History of Illinois, by Sidney Breese." Telling of his visit to Fort Chartres, on page 224 of that volume, the distinguished author says: "As I stood, more than a quarter of a century ago, upon the ruins of its ponderous masonry, and looked upon its mouldering heaps; the tall cottonwood growing upon the smooth parade; the chiseled stones fallen from their ancient

places; the cannon from their carriages and deposited in the wells; the cellar vaults once redolent of the wine cask, then filled with briars, reptiles and the accumulated rubbish of years, and etc."

Major Amos Stoddard, who took possession of Louisiana for the United States after the treaty for its cession by France, in March, 1804, visited Fort Chartres in the summer of that year, and describing it in his "Historical Sketches of Louisiana," published in 1812, mentions having seen there "two deep wells very little injured by time." His qualifying adjective "deep" was doubtless only relative, for no well in that locality could have been very deep, perhaps not exceeding twenty-five feet. The elevation of the alluvial soil upon which Fort Chartres was built was scarcely thirty feet above the ordinary low water stage of the Mississippi river near by, and between the fort and the bluffs, little more than a mile distant, was a lake, or large slough; consequently, the excavating of deep wells there, with appliances then at hand, was not practicable, because of liability of that porous, loamy earth to cave in and bury the well-diggers, and also because of the rapid influx of water by percolation from the adjacent river and slough. Had the French garrison done so foolish an act as to deposit in their wells any number of cannon, small arms and other munitions, those deposits would assumedly soon have been discovered and taken out by the English soldiers, who succeeded them and remained there for almost seven years, constantly drawing their supply of water from those two wells.

As is well known, Fort Chartres was for many years the depot for arms, munitions, and army supplies of all kinds, as well as the seat of military and civil government for all that part of the French possessions in North America between Canada and Louisiana. At the time the treaty of peace between France and England was patched up and signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the original Fort Chartres was almost deserted, and apparently forgotten by the French court. Its wooden stockade and enclosed buildings were dilapidated and rotting down; its arms and military stores dissipated, and its garrison of less than one full company of unpaid, demoralized soldiers bidding defiance to all restraint and discipline. Then the besotted French king was awakened to the value of his possessions on the Mississippi and set about to effect their preservation. In 1750 he appointed Chevalier Makarty, a major of engineers, commandant of the Illinois, and sent him there with several companies of well drilled grenadiers, a large retinue of skilled workmen, a vast quantity of munitions and military stores, and ample funds to build a new fort of solid stone masonry half a league above the old structure. The administration of Major Makarty, from 1750 to 1761 marks the golden age of Fort Chartres and period of its greatest activity and military importance. Its garrison perhaps never at any one time numbered a thousand men, and its fixed ordnance exceeded but little a dozen guns, small and large. Its great value lay in its power to maintain order in the wilderness, and its protection of weak colonies by deterring Indian hostilities, and also its availability for the collection and distribution of soldiers, munitions and commissary supplies.

The permanent armament it maintained, the quantity and variety of stores it received, and to whom and how the same were issued, cannot be known until the ancient records of the Department of the Marine at Paris are searched and made public. Now, only an approximation of their extent can be gained by the dim light of contemporaneous history.

Peace between France and England was of brief duration. The seven years war commenced in 1754, practically resulting in the overthrow of French dominion in America by the English victory on the plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759, and terminating by cession of all the American possessions of France east of the Mississippi to England by treaty in 1763.

Remote itself from the theatre of hostilities in the East, heavy requisitions were made upon Fort Chartres from the seat of war throughout that wretched struggle for not only soldiers, but arms, ammunition and provisions, to which it responded to the point of almost complete exhaustion, retaining only what barely sufficed for maintaining the post and insuring tranquility and protection of its surrounding country. In May, 1754, Captain Neyon de Villiers left Fort Chartres with a hundred picked men, by boat for Fort du Quesne where he joined an expedition that marched into Pennsylvania and attacked George Washington and his loyal Virginia militia in Fort Necessity, which he (Washington) surrendered to the French on the fourth of July. Following Braddock's defeat in 1755, the Commandant at Fort du Quesne, whose communication with Canada was interrupted by the British, wrote to Major Makarty "We are in sad need of provisions. I send to you for flour and pork." Again Captain de Villiers with his company as escort of a flat boat loaded with 18,000 pounds of provisions, went down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Fort du Quesne. Scarcely resting from the fatigue of his voyage de Villiers marched with his men across the Alleghanies and burned Fort Granville, an English post.

From Fort Chartres garrisons were maintained at Cahokia and the fort on the hill east of Kaskaskia, and its troops performed police duty among the Indians as far east as Vincennes. About the first of May, 1757, the Commandant of Fort Chartres sent one of his captains, Charles Phillipe Aubry, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, one hundred Indian allies and three cannon to meet an English force reported to be advancing down the Tennessee river to attack the Illinois. Aubry marched from Kaskaskia to the mouth of Massac creek, and there crossing the Ohio penetrated the wilds of Tennessee for a hundred leagues, failing to hear anything of the rumored enemy. He then returned to the Ohio, and on its north bank, a mile west of the creek where he had first crossed the river, founded a fort that he named Fort Ascension.* Leaving his men there he returned to Fort Chartres to report what he had done; and the next year, 1758, was ordered by Major Makarty to proceed with four hundred men and a quantity of arms and supplies, to reinforce Fort du Quesne and arrived there on the thirteenth of September. The next morning he sallied out with his men and defeated Major James Grant and his

**Illinois Historical Collections*, Springfield, 1903. Vol. 1, p. 168.

regiment of Sixty-second Highlanders, taking the wounded major prisoner and wounding and killing three hundred of his highlanders. The next year, 1759, again by orders of Major Makarty, Aubry with three hundred soldiers and 200,000 (?) pounds of flour,* left Fort Chartres with a fleet of flat boats and canoes, going down the Mississippi, up the Ohio and up the Wabash to the Miamis portage, thence down the Maumee to Lake Erie, gathering on his way a force of six hundred Indians, to assist in raising the siege of Fort Niagara. In that heroic effort he failed, and, wounded, was captured by Sir William Johnson.

On receiving information of that disastrous campaign Major Makarty, writing to the Governor General, said: "At Fort Niagara I lost the flower of my army. My garrison is now weaker than ever." In fact, he lost nearly the whole of it there. However, in the year before, 1758, the French had met a far more serious calamity in the fall and abandonment of Fort du Quesne. Forced to retire, on the twenty-fifth of November, before an advancing column of 7,000 British (Virginia and Pennsylvania loyalists) commanded by General Forbes, the French blew up the fortifications, threw their cannon in the river and burned the buildings and everything movable that they could not take away. Then dispersing, the larger number went up the Alleghany river to Fort Machault on the line of travel to Canada, a part of them made their way to Fort Niagara and the remainder floated down the Ohio river stopping at Aubry's Fort Ascension, which they immediately began to enlarge and strengthen, and changed its name to Fort Massiac in honor of M. de Massiac, the French Minister of Marine and Colonies at that time.† That post, since known as Fort Massac, was the last fort built by the French in America, It at once became a charge upon Fort Chartres, sending its requisitions to Major Makarty for arms, ammunition, provisions and all other needed supplies. As late as April 12, 1760, Makarty, referring to the menancing operations of the British at Pittsburg, said: "I have caused Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a strong ditch." He sent it more cannon until, at the surrender in 1763, it had eight guns mounted. In 1759 he sent to Fort Massac a lot of Chaounon (Shawnee) Indians, well stocked with provisions for the season, he said, that there "they will be more useful and less dangerous" than at Fort Chartres.

Restoration of peace between France and England by treaty signed on the tenth of February, 1763, found Fort Chartres commanded by Captain Neyon de Villiers and garrisoned by one company of fusileers. In 1761 the veteran Commandant Makarty had seen, with pride, the completion of the splendid stone fortress—the faithful execution of the great work he was sent to the Illinois to accomplish. But wearied by the ten years of incessant labors of construction and administrative cares of the Fort, and deeply dejected and humiliated by the increasing reverses of the French forces, which he saw must inevitably soon result in loss of all the possessions of France in America, by his own request he was recalled, and returned to France.

*Ibid, p. 165.
†*Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 165.

Captain de Villiers did not remain long at his cheerless post. On the different fields of battle in the Seven Years' war, through which he had taken an active part, his six brothers were slain. Heart-broken and mortified by the craven king's cession of all French possessions east of the Mississippi, and unwilling to await arrival of the triumphant enemy, he left the Fort, with his men carrying their arms and colors, and descended the great river to New Orleans. For two years the practically deserted Fort was guarded by Pontiac, who kept the British at bay, frustrating their several attempts to gain possession of it. Then the old former Commandant, Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive, came to the Fort from Vincennes with forty soldiers, and assumed command until he could formally surrender it to the victors, which he did on the tenth of October, 1765; but not until he had convinced Pontiac of the utter futility of prolonging the hopeless struggle, and that great Chief had sullenly retired across the Mississippi to St. Louis.

No history, or published account, of Fort Chartres I have yet seen states the number and kind of its stationery artillery armament. Captain Philip Pitman, of the Royal Engineers, in his tour of inspection of the captured French ports, visited Fort Chartres in 1765, and sent to his government a full description of it, but said not a word about its cannon. The "Minutes of the surrender of Fort Chartres, by St. Ange de Belle Rive, to Captain Sir Thomas Stirling appointed to receive it by M. de Gage, Governor of New York and Commander of his Britanic Majesty's troops in North America," describe in detail the surrendered Fort, even to the iron hinges on its doors, but make no mention whatever of its armament. The explanation of that omission in the articles of capitulation is that the Fort had been drained of its supplies before the contest collapsed; its munitions and stores were long since exhausted, and it contained nothing but its few cannon and the arms and personal effects of St. Ange and his forty men, which St. Ange claimed, "by the rules of civilized warfare," he was entitled to retain.

The English officer readily conceded to the French commander and his men the privilege of marching out with their arms and personal property, but insisted that, by the treaty of cession, the artillery of all the forts, being stationery fixtures, or parts of said fortifications, must be surrendered also. St. Ange submitted, under protest, pending decision of the question by the Governor of Louisiana, to whom they agreed to refer it. That functionary sustained the claim of St. Ange, but consented to leave the guns of the Fort temporarily in possession of the English garrison, with a proviso for their restoration (to the French) if his view was approved by the Treaty Commissioners of the two powers. No record of the decision of that disputed claim by a higher tribunal can be found, and succeeding events render the further discussion of the matter exceedingly improbable.

After sifting all the meagre data now attainable, it seems reasonably certain that the entire armament remaining at Fort Chartres at the time of its surrender did not exceed six heavy guns (carrying nine or twelve-pound balls), two, perhaps three, four-pounders, and ten or twelve swivel guns (of one and two inch calibre), all made of iron.

And here it may be remarked, in parenthesis, that Captain J. H. Burnham, whose business interests require his frequent visits to Prairie du Rocher, informed the writer that certain residents of that locality claim they have in their possession cannon balls, grape shot and fragments of bomb-shells found in, or near, the site of the old Fort. That balls and grape shot should occasionally have been lost there; or by target practice become buried in the soil, is not surprising; but explanation of the presence of bursted shells there is not so clear. Fort Chartres was never besieged or attacked, and, as far as known, never contained a mortar for throwing shells, the then only method employed for firing that class of projectiles, the rifled cannon not yet having been invented. And though the learned and charming historian of Fort Chartres, Mr. E. G. Mason, has said, "For, as it (the old powder magazine) is to-day, it has seen them all as they went to and fro before it, or examined its store of shot and shell, etc.," much more evidence than that now accessible must be produced to establish the fact that explosive shells ever formed part of the old Fort's armament, or were in military use there at that early day. The British occupied Fort Chartres from the tenth of October, 1765 until forced to leave it, about the first of June, 1772, by an extraordinary overflow of the Mississippi that inundated some portions of the American bottom to the depth of seven feet. Changing their quarters to Kaskaskia they there took possession of the old stone building the Jesuits erected and occupied until their expulsion and the confiscation of their property, in 1763. Being public property, transferred to England with all that part of French Louisiana, Captain Hugh Lord, at that time "Commandant of the Illinois," by order of his commander-in-chief, General Thomas Gage, enclosed it with high pickets, flanked by two block houses, and styled the structure "Fort Gage" as a compliment to the commanding General of British forces in America. The old fort on the hill east of Kaskaskia, erroneously called by some Fort Gage, was then a ruin, having been destroyed by the citizens of Kaskaskia in 1766.

When Captain Lord and his men hastily left Fort Chartres, in the summer of 1772, as the angry waters of the great river were advancing upon them, they left there the six large guns, and removed to their new "fort" only the four pounders and swivels. Six years later, July 4, 1778, Colonel George Rogers Clark suddenly came into Kaskaskia by night, with his 117 "Long Knives," and captured that fort then commanded for the English by the renegade Frenchman, Phillip Francois de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave. On the fifth of the next February, 1779, Colonel Clark left Kaskaskia with 170 men to attack the British at Vincennes. In aid of his overland expedition he despatched a large armed boat with forty-six men, by way of the Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash river, to meet him at a designated point a few miles below Vincennes. The two four pounders and several swivels mounted on that boat were "borrowed" by him from Fort Gage, and bore the stamp of the royal escutcheon of France. In his letter to Hon. George Mason, Colonel Clark said:

"I had a Large Boat prepared and Rigged, mounting two four pounders (and) four large Swivels Manned with a fine Comp commanded by Lieut. Rogers. She set out in the evening of the 4th of Jan'y, with orders to force her way if possible within ten Leagues of St. Vincents and lay until further orders. This Vessel when compleat was much admired by the inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in the Country before."*

Colonel Clark having successfully executed his famous strategem before Fort Sackville, and received its surrender, with that of "St. Vincents." returned to Kaskaskia with his improvised gunboat and at once replaced in Fort Gage its artillery which he had borrowed. This is learned from a letter written a few weeks later,, June 27, 1779, by Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, British commander at Michilimakinac, to Colonel Frederick Haldimand, the English Governor General of Canada, in which he says—to show the weak and defenseless condition of the territory recently conquered by Colonel Clark, "The Kaskaskia is in no way fortified. The fort being still a sorry picked (picketed) enclosure around the Jesuite College, with two plank houses at opposite angles and mount two four-pounders, each on the ground floor, and a few swivels mounted in pigeon houses."†

Here ends all positive knowledge of this part of Fort Chartres' armament.

After taking possession of Fort Gage, in the night of July 4, 1778, Colonel Clark placed it in command of Colonel John Montgomery§ with a small garrison, who held it as a military post until the summer of 1780, when, by order of Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, and upon the advice and recommendation of Colonel Clark, a fort was built, named Fort Jefferson, at the Iron Banks, on the eastern side of the Mississippi five miles below the mouth of the Ohio river. And to that fort were removed the garrison of Fort Gage, including the Fort Chartres four-pounders and swivels. The next year, 1781, the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, on whose land Fort Jefferson was built without their permission, led by a Scotchman named Colbert, attacked it in large force, the fort's garrison then numbering but thirty men, half of whom were sick with fever and ague, and all on the verge of starvation. "When the Indians had advanced in very close order, Captain George Owens, who commanded one of the block houses, had the swivels loaded with rifle and musket balls and fired them in the crowd. The consequent carnage was excessive and dispersed the enemy."**

There is no documentary evidence to prove the identity of those swivels that did such fine execution; yet there is very little doubt that they were of the number brought by Captain Lord from Fort Chartres and "mounted in Pigeon houses" at Fort Gage. They are heard of no more after that engagement. The old Jesuit building converted into Fort Gage by the English in 1772, was probably never again tenanted after its abandonment by Colonel Clark's men in 1780, and gradually fell into ruin. Edmund Flagg, who visited Kaskaskia in

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*_Clark's Campaign in the Illinois_. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1869, p. 64.

†_Illinois Historical Collections_, Springfield, Ills., 1903. Vol. I, p. 463.

§ He is described as a jovial Irishman whom Clark fell in with at the Falls of the Ohio, on his way down the river, and who readily joined the perilous adventure from pure love of fighting." _John Todd's Record Book_, by E. G. Mason, Fergus Co., Chicago, 1881, p. 64.

**Butler's _History of Kentucky_, Louisville, Ky., 1834, p. 119.

1836, said: "A little more than half a century after (the town's) origin * * * * * a monastery and Jesuit College was in successful operation, the ruins of the edifice remaining extant even at the present day."*

In a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society on December 12, 1879,† Mr. E. G. Mason said to Kaskaskia visitors of that period: "The site of the house of the French Commandant, which was afterwards the first State house of Illinois, will be pointed out to you, and the place where stood the nunnery, and such land-marks as the corner-stone of the property of the Jesuits, confiscated by the French Crown, etc," unawares himself that in viewing that corner-stone of the confiscated Jesuit property, he was looking upon the last remaining vestige of Fort Gage, the seat of English power in the Illinois.

It matters little now that no monument was placed to mark that corner-stone; for, with other historic land-marks in old Kaskaskia, it has doubtless been swept away forever by the resistless waters of the Mississippi.

The six large guns left at Fort Chartres by the British in 1722 were fixed on their carriages, and only required teams attached to them to be easily removed over the level prairie road to Kaskaskia, sixteen miles distant. Yet, during the six years the English were supreme at their Fort Gage in the old town, those guns remained undisturbed loyally guarding the deserted fortress.

The victory of Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia in 1778 was followed later in that year by an Act of the Virginia legislature organizing the Northwestern Territory into a county of that state designated the "County of Illinois," of which Colonel John Todd was appointed civil commandant. The termination of the Revolutionary war, in 1783, resulting in establishing independence of the colonies; Virginia, the next year, 1784, transferred her county of Illinois to the new-born Republic. Then began to pour into the American bottom, and on its adjoining hills and prairies, the sturdy soldiers of Colonel Clark's army, with their families and kinsmen from the Southern states, in quest of new homes in the fertile and beautiful country they had wrested from the English.

Then to, the tranquil solitude of old Fort Chartres was rudely broken. It was public property and a great heap of finely cut and dressed stone ready at the settler's hands for "underpinning" barns and cabins and building chimneys and out-houses. The majestic guns were handled out in the open area of the fort and unceremoniously thrown from their carriages into the dirt, and the carriages converted into ox carts or wagons for hauling away the walls and buildings.

John Reynolds, then a rugged lad of twelve years of age, arrived at Kaskaskia in the year 1800, having driven one of his father's two teams all the way from Knoxville, Tenn. Two or three years later he visited the ruins of Fort Chartres, and, in 1855, published this account of what he saw there: "When I first saw Fort Chartres, more than fifty years ago, it presented the most singular and striking contrast

*_The Far West_, by Edmund Flagg, Harper & Bros., 1838. Vol. II, p. 156.
†_Kaskaskia and its Parish Records_, by E. G. Mason, Chicago, 1881, p. 22.

between a savage wilderness, filled with wild beasts and reptiles, and the remains of one of the largest and strongest fortifications on the continent. Large trees were growing in the houses which once contained the elegant and accomplished French officers and soldiers. Cannon, snakes and bats were sleeping together in peace in and around this port."* (Almost a fulfillment of the sublime millennium prophecy of the lion and the lamb lying together in peace.)

H. M. Brackenridge, judge of the U. S. District Court of Louisiana saw Fort Chartres in 1811, of which he says, in his valuable book of western travels, published in 1817, "Fort de Chartres is a noble ruin, and is visited by strangers as a great curiosity. I was one of a party of ladies and gentlemen who ascended to it in a barge from St. Genevieve, nine miles below. The outward wall, barracks and magazine are still standing. There are a number of cannon lying half buried with their trunions broken off. In visiting the various parts, we started a flock of wild turkeys which had concealed themselves in this hiding place." No other writer mentions such mutilation of the cannon, and their subsequent use plainly indicates that Judge Brackenridge must have been mistaken upon that point.

In the summer of the same year, 1811, another party from St. Genevieve visited the stately ruins, as narrated by General Firmin A. Rosier, as follows:

"Fort Chartres in June, 1811.†

During this month and year, a party from St. Genevieve, consisting of Governor Henry Dodge and family, Judge Otto Shrader and lady, Captain Melane and wife, Dr. Lewis F. Lynn, with several young men, visited Fort Chartres, Illinois, for the purpose of securing a piece of ordnance from this old fort, with which to celebrate the approaching Fourth of July of 1811. The party, early one morning, embarked on a keel boat manned by several negro men. Poles and sweeps (long oars) were used to propel the boat. Owing to the velocity and force of the current, the boat's progress was necessarily slow and laborious, but the fort was finally reached, and on disembarking all the party partook of a sumptuous lunch.

The cannon was soon selected from the crumbling debris of the Fort, but the task of transporting it to the boat was no light one, owing to the want of levers and hoisting appliances. It was of iron, nine feet in length and very heavy; but perseverance and hard work finally accomplished its transfer to the keel boat, after which the party cast loose in the evening, and floated back to St. Genevieve, without accident or adventure. The sky was cloudless, the full moon shown brightly over the turbid waters of the Mississippi, and the whole party were full of life and spirit over their prize, and the anticipated part it was to play on the great National day.

The boat was met by the people of St. Genevieve, who were delighted at securing the cannon, assisting to unload, mount and prepare it for the coming event, which was in due time celebrated with great pomp and zeal the old cannon adding the thunders of its throat to the eloquence of its orators and applause of the spectators.

Subsequently, in the year 1840, another Fourth of July was celebrated, and the old Fort Chartres cannon again called upon to lend its aid in the glorious cause. It was fired several times, until at last it bursted, and injured several persons, among whom was the late Judge Jesse B. Robbins. His injuries were very serious, and gave him much trouble the remainder of his life."

*Reynolds' *Life and Times*. First edition. Belleville, Ills., 1855, p. 44.

†*History of the Early Settlements of the Mississippi Valley*. By Firmin A. Rosier, St. Louis, 1890. pp. 322-323.

The General makes no mention in this account of having seen any of the cannon at the old Fort with their trunions broken off, and the one taken to St. Genevieve must have been particularly sound in all respects to have done active service in twenty-nine of the anniversaries of the Fourth of July as they were then celebrated.

On June 19, 1812, the United States Congress declared war against Great Britain. The remotely interior portions of Illinois Territory placed it beyond the probable range of impending hostilities with England; but it was exposed to incursions of several tribes of savages in the interest and pay of the English, and easily instigated by them to plunder and murder the western settlers.

Vigorous measures were immediately taken by Ninian Edwards, the Territorial Governor, for protection of the endangered frontier settlements. He put in the field several companies of mounted militia, or "Rangers," to patrol the Indian infested border, and proceeded to construct a fortified camp a mile and a half northwest of the present city of Edwardsville, in Madison county, then beyond the northern limits of Illinois settlements, which, in time, became knows as "Fort" Russell, in honor of Colonel Wm. Russell, of Kentucky, commander of the western army of defense.

Governor Edwards then resided in Elvirade—so named by him as a compliment to his wife, Elvira—an extensive farm in the American Bottom four miles south of Prairie du Rocher, and five miles southeast of Fort Chartres. He was a very able man of brilliant and versatile mental power, undoubted courage, and with education and accomplishments far in advance of his times and surroundings. Reared in the school of Colonial courtly refinement, he presented all the manners and usages of the old-time gentleman even to the wearing of old lace, and ruffled shirt fronts and wristbands. Assuming command of the Territorial forces he established his headquarters at Camp Russell which he converted into a mimic fortress adorned with all the pomp and panoply of grim-visaged war. Early in the year before the stockade of Camp Russell was completed, the Governor took his own ox teams and negro drivers—his own slaves—from Elvirade over to the ruins of old Fort Chartres, and there personally superintended the raising of the half-buried five old cannon, and loading them on the wagons, which were then hauled to Camp Russell, a distance of seventy-five miles, and there mounted in a defensive position, much to the amusement of the Whitesides, Jake Short, Jim Moore, Sam Judy and other bushrangers, who had not yet learned to fight Indians with artillery.

John Reynolds—in 1812 a volunteer in Sam Judy's company of Rangers—says: *"In the forepart of the year 1812 several companies were organized and ranged over the country as far as Vincennes; and in the commencement of the year Governor Edwards established Fort Russell, a few miles northwest of the present town of Edwardsville. He made this frontier post his headquarters, and fortified it in such manner as to secure the military stores and munitions of war. The fort was not only the *appui* of military operations, but was also the resort of the talent and fashion of the country.

*_Life and Times_. First edition, 1855, pp. 129-130.

The Governor opened his court here, and presided with the character that genius and talents always bestow on the person possessing them. The cannon of Louis XIV. of France were taken from Old Fort Chartres, and with them and other military decorations, Fort Russell blazed out with considerable pioneer splendor."

Again he says: *"Our army (in September, 1812) reached Camp Russell in safety, after some weeks' march, where we were received with the honor of a salutation, booming from the Fort Chartres' cannon, and the roar of small arms."

Further inquiry concerning the subsequent history of those old French guns led to correspondence some years ago, with Mr. Volney P. Richmond, an aged pioneer who had passed almost all of his life on a farm in Liberty Prairie, in Madison county, within a few miles of the spot where Fort Russell formerly stood, and who died there on the 14th of January, 1901, at the age of 84 years. He stated that when a small boy he often heard his parents and their neighbors relate that in January, 1815, one of the Fort Russell cannon was bursted when being repeatedly fired in celebration of General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, with the effect of severely wounding several persons near by. He had never heard what disposition was made of the other guns.

There, then, at Fort Russell, we take final leave of the last remnant of Fort Chartres' armament; for beyond that post not a trace can be found of those historic old guns. No mention of them occurs in any record or report made by Governor Edwards; or by any military officer serving in Illinois during the war of 1812-'14. A letter of inquiry concerning them addressed to the War Department elicited the following address:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE,
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

First—Your letter of the 4th instant, to the Honorable Secretary of War, asking for information relative to the large iron guns taken from the ruins of old Fort Chartres and mounted at Fort Russell by Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, in 1812, has been received.

Second—In reply I am instructed by the Chief of Ordnance to inform you that the records of this office furnish no information on the subject, and that upon a cursory examination of Lossing's Pictorial History of the War of 1812 nothing could be found therein. It is suggested that, in all probability, the information desired by you might be obtained by addressing the Librarian of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Respectfully,
A. H. RUSSELL,
Lieut. Col., Ordnance Dept., U. S. A."

Acting upon Colonel Russell's advice the same inquiry, with his letter enclosed, was sent to the Librarian of the Congressional Library; and after several weeks this response was received:

* Life and Times, p. 142.

"LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of February 20th, enclosing a letter from A. H. Russell, Lieutenant Colonel, Ordnance Department, has had the attention of the Chief Bibliographer.

He now advises that a persistent and exhaustive search in documents, local histories, personal narratives of the war of 1812, American State papers, etc., fails to reveal anything about the large iron guns from Fort Chartres.

Very truly yours,

ALLEN R. BOYD,
Secretary.

## 3. THE SWISS SETTLEMENTS OF MADISON COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

(By Ella C. Newbauer.)

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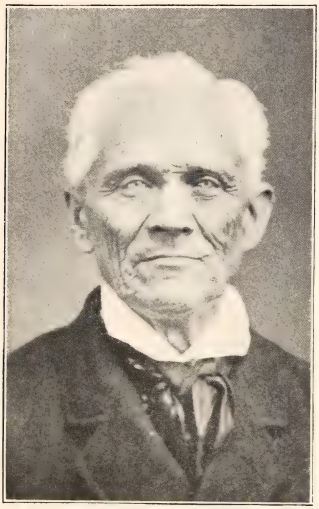
The Swiss are well represented in the foreign population of our country. In the year 1902 the United States Consul at Zurich, Switzerland, said: "Emigration from this country in recent years has apparently been on the increase, owing to the favorable reports which reach this country of prosperity, good crops, high wages and the demand for laborers of all kinds in the United States." The statistics of 1902 show that the greater number of Swiss emigrants come to the United States. Out of 4,707 who emigrated from Switzerland in that year 4,227 sailed for our country.

According to the Twelfth Census, Illinois has 9,033 Swiss inhabitants. The city of Chicago alone has 3,251. The city of Highland in Helvetia township, of Madison county, has a population consisting almost entirely of the Swiss element, for the place was originally settled by the Swiss. Many of the farmers in the vicinity of Highland, in Saline, Marine and St. Jacob townships belong to this foreign element. When these are included, the Swiss population of Highland may be estimated to be about 3,000. There are, however, almost 3,000 more Swiss inhabitants of Illinois of whom no definite information has been obtained. Many of these are, no doubt, to be found on farms throughout the State, for the Swiss are a great agricultural class.

It would be interesting, indeed, to be able to trace the origin of the Swiss population of Chicago and to learn something as to its function and importance to the city today. It has, however, proved impossible to gain this much-desired information.

Some of the earliest settlers in St. Clair county were Swiss In the year 1815 three emigrants, Bernard Steiner, Rudolph Wildi and Jacob Hardy, settled in the southern part of the county on what is now called "Dutch Hill." These three men were natives of the Canton, called Schwytz. Mr. Steiner had quite an interesting life history. While he was engaged in his trade in Neuchatel, Schwytz, he fell in love with the daughter of a very wealthy family. The parents consented to a marriage only on condition that he would accompany the family to America. Steiner willingly joined them in their journey, but before they had fairly started he found himself sadly duped. While the party was detained at Antwerp for some length of time,



JACOB EGGEN,
Pioneer Settler of Highland, Illinois.

Steiner gave his money over to his father-in-law. Without Steiner's knowledge, the family embarked to sea leaving him alone and penniless. Undaunted by this experience in his career, Steiner took advantage of the credit system and came to Philadelphia. For a time he was a peddler, then he became an importer and still later made preparations for the establishment of a clock and watch factory, but this project was ended by death.

The natives of Switzerland were the first European colonists that came in great numbers to Madison county, of Illinois, and this county has perhaps a larger Swiss population than any county in the State.

About 1831, when all of Europe was in a general state of unrest, and discontent seemed to prevail among the masses there, a number of people living in the city of Sursee, Canton Lucerne, Switzerland, resolved to emigrate to America. Dr. Caspar Köpfli acted as leader to this band of emigrants and was accompanied to America by his family and by Joseph Suppiger, who became very prominent in the American colony. The trip from Switzerland to Paris was made in sixteen days. Seven weeks were required to sail from Paris to New York and one entire month to cross the country from New York to their destination in Illinois.

The people of New England at this time regarded Illinois as an emigrant cemetery, as an unhealthy wilderness. Up to this time no one had ventured to settle on the prairies; but to these Swiss wanderers the great plains of Illinois were the realization of a long sought land of promise. They felt especially attracted to Looking Glass Prairie and settled there, purchasing 1,000 acres of land at $2.70 an acre during the first year. Though surrounded by difficulties, they looked forward to a bright future and wrote letters to friends and relatives in the native land which encouraged further emigration.

In 1833 seventeen emigrants, most of whom belonged to the Supper family, arrived, and in 1835 about fifty more people came. Most of these new-comers settled in Townships 4-5, where they soon established a very friendly intercourse with the pioneers who had already made their homes there. The township settled by the Swiss was named Helvetia, the Latin name for Switzerland.

October 15, 1836, the town of Highland was founded in this township, the townsite being selected by James Semple, then speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph Suppiger and Solomon Köpfli. In honor of Mr. Semple, a Scotchman, the town was named after the Highlands of Scotland instead of being given the more appropriate name of "New Switzerland."

Highland was at that time a place which seemed very much isolated. No streets had been laid out and the town was not even connected with St. Louis, only thirty-two miles away, for the St. Louis road had not yet been constructed. All household furniture and many other necessities had to be brought from St. Louis in carts drawn by oxen. Streams had to be forded for there were no bridges, and as there were no roads, the carts had to travel overland, which was thickly covered with tree stumps, making the way rough and difficult.

These early settlers, through much hard labor, built rude log cabins in which they made their homes. All cooking and baking had to be done over the open fire in the large fireplace. The women and girls busied themselves with spinning wheel and loom, providing themselves and the men with homemade clothes. The hide of the deer was tanned and was then sometimes made into clothes for the men. The men were on horseback most of the time, carrying their rifles and powder horn and were usually accompanied by dogs.

As a result of the panic of 1837, this Swiss community was left without any circulating medium in the form of money. All buying and selling became a matter of exchange. Notwithstanding these discouraging conditions, a certain amount of activity was developed. A steam mill was erected in 1837 and a saw mill was attached to it 1840-1850. In 1839 a store was opened and once a week mail was delivered from Troy, twelve miles away. 1833 Mr. Eggen, a very influential man in the village, started the first brick-yard in connection with a pottery. He also started the first distillery and the first bakery.

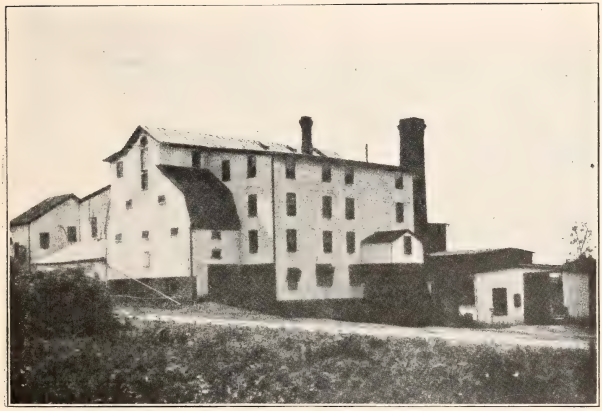
The accounts which were published of this growing and prosperous settlement were overdrawn and this fact becoming known in Europe, proved injurious to the colony. For a time emigration was checked.

About 1840, however, some more families arrived from Switzerland. August 22, of this year, sixty-eight people from the Canton of Graubundten came to Highland. Some of these Swiss settled in the vicinity of this town. Some went to St. Jacobs, six miles west of Highland, while others went north into Saline township. In 1834 Dr. A. F. Beck, a native of Canton Berne, Switzerland, arrived and settled permanently in the Marine settlement, north of Highland. Sylvan Utiger, another Swiss, located a few miles north of Marine in a German settlement in what is now called the Handsbarger neighborhood.

In 1843, the most important event, up to that time, took place. A stage route was established between Vandalia, the old State capital, and St. Louis and it proved a great day to Highland when the first stage coach, drawn by four horses, came into the town.

October 6, 1848, an omnibus brought from St. Louis a dozen immigrants who had come from French Switzerland. Among these were A. E. Bandelier, Constant Rilliet, in latter years the successor of Bandelier in the Swiss consulate and associate county justice in 1861, Francis Vulliet, a minister of the Free Evangelical church of the Canton of Vaud, who had come to America in hope of finding that freedom of religion which had been denied him in his native country.

Mr. A. E. Bandelier published a very interesting account of the beginning and development of this colony at Highland. Mr. Vulliet and Mr. Rilliet together issued a guide to immigrants and sent copies of it to their friends in the homeland. Through the influence of this guide, others in French Switzerland became enthusiastic to migrate. Between the years 1848 and 1850 families bearing the names of Estoppey, Majonnier, Junod, Bran, Decrevelle and Thalman from the Cantons of Neuchatel and Vaud, came to America. They belonged to a religious sect called the Plymouth Brethern, which suffered persecution in the native land. In order that they might worship God in lib-



MILL AT HIGHLAND, ILLINOIS

erty according to the dictates of their own consciences, these people came to our country. They established themselves on farms near Sugar Creek, east of Highland and there fared prosperously. At the present time but few of their descendants remain, for death and migration have reduced their numbers. This settlement was called the Sugar Creek settlement. Several years later a number of immigrants from France joined these French Swiss and the increased colony was then named Sebastopol, 1859.

The Swiss people have some of the characteristics of the north as well as the south German. Their mountain life, surrounded by many dangers, has made them cautious and vigilant. The Swiss have sometimes been called the Yankees of Europe, because of their calculating shrewdness and active energy, and also because of their familiarity with self-government. They are, as a people, also greatly interested in education. This fact was shown in naming the streets of Highland, a great many of which were given names of Swiss and of American educational leaders like: Pestalozzi, Zschokke, Jefferson and Franklin.

Joseph Suppiger, a man who always bore at heart the interests of others, succeeded in raising funds to build a little school house in 1840. Before this time, a lady teacher had been employed to give private instruction at the homes of the children. The quaint school building was also used as a house of worship whenever a stray minister happened to appear in the neighborhood. The gospel was preached to these early settlers regardless of the faith in creeds. In 1844 Father Maragno, who was the first Catholic priest to come to Highland united with the Protestants and helped to erect a church which was used by all Christians.

Just ten years after coming to this country, Dr. Köpfli returned to Switzerland with his family in 1841. He found his native Canton the scene of war, and because he no longer felt safe in his own birthplace, he returned to the United States after a lapse of seven and a half years. Both of his sons, Joseph and Solomon, had returned after a stay of only two and a half years in Switzerland. Solomon Köpfli became very prominent in Highland. He was forever planning something for the advancement and the progress of the community. He never tired of striving for the improvement of roads and later on for railroad connections. His efforts won him influence and favor among the American settlers. Mr. Köpfli became interested in politics without making claims upon any public office for himself. In 1862 he became a member of the convention which was to form a new Constitution for Illinois. His untiring activity in this assembly affected his health, and though he took several trips back to his native land, he never completely regained good health and strength.

Heinrich Zschokke, pastor at Aaran, Switzerland, writes of Köpfli: "Sein letzter Aufenthalt in Zurich galt dann noch den Vorbereitungen zu einem Lieblingsplan namlich der Stiftung einer Universitat in Highland. Er konnte jedoch denselben nicht mehr ausfuhren, eben so wenig das Vorhaben, eine Geschichte der von seiner Familie gegrundeten Schweizer-Kolonie im Drucke herauszugeben wozu er

schon bedentende Vorarbeiten gemaeht hatte. An beiden hinderten ihn den Tod." Mr. Köpfli took so great an interest in education, that he himself went among the children and instructed them and also made financial sacrifices for any equipment which was necessary to his work. Zschokke called him a second Pestalozzi.

October 13, 1858, the first printing press appeared in the settlement. The first newspaper printed was called "Der Erzahler." This changed ownership several times until it became the "Highland Bote" of which the "Union" became a rival, 1863. In 1869 the "Bote" was removed to Edwardsville; but the "Union" is still printed weekly in the city of Highland.

Highland was not incorporated as a village until April, 1865. Mr. Jacob Eggen became president and Jas. Speckars, Henry Weinheimer, Xavier Suppiger and Frank Appel, trustees. About 1867 the Vandalia railroad passing through the town was constructed. This new intercourse with the world at large meant much in promoting the development of Highland.

In 1885 the Helvetia Milk Condensing Company was established. The product of this industry is today known all over the world. Great quantities of the condensed milk are exported to foreign countries. The enterprise has had a wonderful development since its beginning. Only about a year ago a very large new plant was constructed at Highland. Besides this, the company now owns two branch factories, one at Greenville, Illinois and one at Delta, Ohio, and is planning to establish another somewhere in Pennsylvania. The manufacture of the condensed milk makes dairy farming very profitable to farmers in the vicinity of Highland. Through it employment is also given to a large number of boys, girls and men of the town.

The Highland Embroidery Works, established in 1883, also employ a great many people. All the machinery used in this industry comes from Switzerland. A large output of embroidered goods is each year sent to the eastern cities, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Buffalo, while a considerable quantity of goods is also sold to the leading department stores of St. Louis.

Besides the two important industries already mentioned, Highland has a flour mill, a grain elevator, a large brewery, a distillery and a soda water works. Within the city there are three large general stores, several grocery stores and bakeries, drug stores, furniture and hardware stores.

Now Highland has a beautiful modern school building and maintains a good high school, besides the public schools; there is a Catholic parochial school. The city has four well attended churches, a German Evangelical, a German Methodist, a Congregational and a Catholic. The St. Joseph's hospital is a well conducted Catholic institution, located in the suburbs of the town. Two English and two German papers are now published weekly in the flourishing little city.

During its seventy-five years of development and progress, the city of Highland has retained its Swiss population and with it many Swiss characteristics. In most of the Swiss homes, the children are taught the mother tongue before they are taught to speak English. On the play grounds at school the younger children usually converse with one

another in the Swiss dialect. Business men, in their daily affairs, cling to their language when they discuss business or politics. The people of the town are also very loyal to Swiss costumes and still retain their Schweizer-Turnverein Mannerchor Harmonie and Schutzenverein. (Turner's Association, Mens' Singing Society and Sharpshooters' Association.)

A List of the Books Consulted on the Subject of Swiss Settlements of Illinois.

H. F. Bandelier—"Geschichte des Townships Helvetia." Published in Highland.

Jacob Eggen—"Aufzeichnungen aus Highlands Grundungszeit zum Funfzigjahrigen Jubilaum 1887." Published at Highland, 1888.

Salomon Köpfli und Jacob Eggen—"Die Schweizer-Kolonie Highland in Illinois." Published in Deutsch Amerikanische Geschichtsblatter. April 1905 and July 1905.

Kröner, Gustav—"Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika."

W. R. Brink & Co.—Publishers of "History of Madison County, Illinois." Published at Edwardsville, Ill.

Charles Weis—Publisher of "A Brief History of the City of Highland." Published at the office of the Highland Journal, Highland, 1893.

Statistics were taken from "Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900." Volume I, Part I, Population.

For information concerning the French Swiss, who formed the Sugar Creek settlement, I am indebted to Mr. L. Mellera, an old French settler, still living near Sebastopol. Most of the pamphlets on Highland history I obtained from Mr. J. S. Horner, who for many years published the Highland Union.

# LAWS

OF

# ILLINOIS COLLEGE

Enacted by the Trustees

JACKSONVILLE:
E. R. ROE, Book and Fancy Job Printers, Morgan Journal Office.
1850.

VIEW OF THE CAMPUS OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE.

# LAWS OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE, 1850.*

(Contributed by President Charles H. Rammelkamp.)

## Chapter I.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE COLLEGE.

In whom vested.

Section 1. The government of the college shall be vested in a faculty, to consist of the President, professors and such other regular instructors as may be at any time employed.

General duties of the faculty.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the faculty to instruct the students according to the course of study prescribed by the Trustees; to regulate their morals and deportment; to recommend to the Trustees such alterations in the laws and course of study as they may deem expedient, and in all other suitable ways to promote the interests and secure the ends of the institution.

Their powers.

Sec. 3. In them is vested the power to make all regulations necessary to secure these ends, to interpret and execute the laws, and to exercise judgment in the case of all who shall violate the same. Each instructor shall also have authority at all times to enter the rooms of the students, to cite any of them to appear before him, and to require them to testify on any matter pertaining to the public interests.

Meetings of the faculty.

Sec. 4. They shall, except in extraordinary cases, meet once a week, and at such other times as the President may direct, to consider and decide on all matters pertaining to the interests of the College, which may require their attention. They shall also keep a record of their proceedings, which shall be laid before the Trustees whenever required.

* The Illinois State Historical Library owns a copy of the "Laws of Illinois College" published in 1837.

Duties and powers of President and professors.

Sec. 5. The President shall superintend the general interests of the Institution, preside in all meetings of the faculty, and in all cases have a right to vote. No vote can be passed without the consent of a majority of the permanent instructors, nor without the consent of the President, except by a majority of two-thirds.

The professors shall teach the students in their respective departments, and in all appropriate ways co-operate with the President in promoting the interests and reputation of the College. In the sickness, absence or death of the President, the senior professor shall take his place and discharge his duties.

Residence and employments.

Sec. 6. All the members of the faculty shall, during Term time, reside near the College, that they may be easily accessible to the students, and may be able to superintend the internal concerns of the Institution; nor shall they, without the consent of the Trustees, engage in any business or occupation which will interfere with a stated and punctual discharge of their official duties.

General principles.

Sec. 7. As it is designed that the government of this Institution shall be mild and paternal, and ever seek the reformation of the offender; its penalties shall be chiefly moral, addressed to the conscience, and the principles of honor and shame. Nevertheless, in all offenses tending to cause pecuniary loss to the Institution, fines may be employed, and also in such cases of delinquency as may seem to involve little criminality in individual cases, but threaten by frequent repetition to produce a general evil.

Kinds of penalty.

Sec. 8. Punishments of a moral kind shall be admonition, private, or before the faculty, or the class, or the students at large—suspension, limited or indefinite—dismission and expulsion. In all cases of admonition, or of restoration after suspension, written or verbal confessions and promises may be required; or the offender may be put on trial with the assurance that for the next offence the punishment will be more severe.

Discretionary power in the Faculty.

Sec. 9. In all cases where no penalty is specified, the Faculty may attach a penalty in view of the circumstances of the case. And in all cases, they shall be authorized in view of circumstances of aggravation or extenuation, to increase or diminish the severity of any specified penalty.

Ignorance no excuse.

Sec. 10. Ignorance of the Laws of this Institution shall in no case be deemed a sufficient excuse for their violation.

Responsibilities in vacation.

Sec. 11. Students residing at the Institution during the Vacation shall, in all matters affecting the general interests of the Institution, be under the control of the Faculty; and all, whether present or absent, shall be subject to the laws of morality and good order, and responsible for their violation as well as in Term time.

Mode of relief in case of dissatisfaction with any decision.

Sec. 12. If any student shall feel himself aggrieved by any decision of the Faculty, he may within thirty days apply to the President by a petition in writing for a new trial; and on such petition, the President shall, within a convenient time, order a new trial to be had; and provided on such new trial, the former decision shall be confirmed, such student, still apprehending himself aggrieved, or in case he shall be a minor, his parent or guardian may bring a petition to the Trustees for relief, which petition he shall lodge with the President within thirty days after the new trial, and the President shall lay the said petition before the Trustees at their next meeting.

Sec. 13. The Faculty shall keep a memorandum from time to time of all important facts relating to the progress and deportment of each student, and communicate the same at least semi-annually to his parent or guardian.

## Chapter II.

### OF ADMISSION OF UNDER GRADUATES INTO THE COLLEGE.

Age.

Section 1. No student shall be admitted into the College until he has completed his fourteenth year.

Examination.

Sec. 2. Candidates for admission to the Freshman class shall be Examined in the Latin and Greek Grammars, Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, Sallust, Greek Reader (or an equivalent), Arithmetic, Geography and English Grammar.

Candidates for an advanced standing, in addition to the preparatory studies, shall be examined in the studies to which the class which they propose to enter has attended.

Credentials.

Sec. 3. Every candidate for admission into the College shall produce satisfactory evidence of a good moral character, and if from an other college, he shall produce a certificate from the proper authority, that he is in good standing and has been subject to no college censure; except on a hearing of the case, the Prudential committee shall see fit to admit him without such testimonials.

Record of names, &c.

Sec. 4. The President shall keep a record of the names and ages of all the students admitted to the Institution, and the names of their parents or guardians, their residence and places of preparatory study, the dates and circumstances of their leaving the Institution, and such other particulars as he may think worthy of notice, as it regards their character, conduct, and relations to the Institution.

Payments in advance.

Sec. 5. All payments shall be made in advance; and in case a student is dismissed from College before the close of the term, no portion of his term bill shall be remitted or refunded except by order of the Prudential Committee and for reasons to them satisfactory; and if the student is under any College censure at the time of his dismission nothing shall in any case be remitted or refunded. A student entering at any other time than the beginning of a quarter, shall pay for the whole quarter on which he enters.

Refunded to the dismissed only by order of the Prudential Committe for sufficient reasons.

Students dismissed under censure.

Payment for whole quarters.

Sec. 6. Every student, on joining the Institution, shall be required to obtain and to read a copy of the laws, and also to subscribe his name to a declaration that he has read and will obey them. Promise.

Sec. 7. No student shall be entitled to the privileges of the Institution till he shall exhibit the certificates of the President and Treasurer that he has complied with the foregoing regulations. Certificates of the President and Treasurer.

## Chapter III.

### of resident graduates.

Section 1. Graduates desirous of residing for purposes of study at this College shall be admitted after applying for leave to the President, and engaging to comply with all the regulations of the Institution, respecting good order and morals, to treat all the officers and arrangements of the College with respect, to encourage diligence, order and obedience among the undergraduates, and to refrain from visiting their rooms in study hours, Conditions of residence.

Sec. 2. They may attend, free of charge, any of the recitations, lectures, or other exercises of the College. Privileges.

Sec. 3. If at any time the residence of any graduate shall be injurious to the College, he shall, on notice from the Faculty, withdraw. When required to leave.

## Chapter IV.

### of literary exercises.

Section 1. The literary exercises of this Institution shall be recitations, lectures, disputes, compositions, declamation, translation, and such others as the nature of the subject under examination may require. Of what kinds.

Selection of studies.

Sec. 2. The judgment of the Faculty shall always be decisive, both as it regards what studies, and how many, each student may pursue, although a due regard shall be had to the wishes of the individual, or of his parents or guardian.

Attendance on exercises.

Sec. 3. The students are required to attend the recitations, lectures, or other exercises of their respective instructors, regularly and punctually, and shall be required to account for every absence, or any other negligence.

Record of absences.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each instructor to keep, or cause to be kept, by a monitor, a record of all absences or irregularities in the attendance of the students on their respective exercises, and to call them to account for the same.

Reviews and examinations.

Sec. 5. At the close of each half term there shall be a review of such parts of the studies of the term as the Faculty shall judge expedient, and an examination on them all; which examination shall be strict and impartial, and open to all who may choose to attend.

Public exhibitions.

Sec. 6. An exhibition of original pieces mny be allowed at the close of the first half of the term. At the close of the term the annual commencement shall be holden. The preparation and criticism of pieces for public exhibition shall be under the care of the professor of rhetoric.

Nothing to be exhibited without approbation.

Sec. 7. If any student, on either of these occasions, shall exhibit anything in public which has not been examined and approved by the professor of rhetoric, he may be deprived of his degree, or otherwise punished according to circumstances.

## Chapter V.

### of religious exercises.

Object.

Section 1. The object of the religious exercises of this institution shall be, not to promote the peculiar interests of any sect, but to produce a sense of the presence of God and of constant accountability to him, and to exhibit these fundamental truths of Chris-

tianity, which are adapted to purify the heart, enlarge and regulate the intellect, and secure a conscientious and faithful discharge of the duties of life.

Morning and evening prayers.

Sec. 2. Prayers shall be attended in the College Chapel every morning and evening with the reading of the Scriptures, at which all the students are required to be present.

Public worship.

Sec. 3. Every student shall be required to attend some one of the churches in the town of Jacksonville every Sabbath morning, and a lecture at the College Chapel every Sabbath evening taking the place of the regular evening prayers.

Report of attendance at church.

Absences.

Sec. 4. Every student shall be required to report to the instructor of his class on Monday, what church he attended the previous Sabbath morning, and the same shall be entered each week in a register kept by the Faculty, and absences from public worship shall be treated in the same manner as absences from any other exercises of College.

## Chapter VI.

### of the division of time.

Morning prayers.

Section 1. The time of morning prayers shall vary from 7 to 8 o'clock, according to the season of the year, as the Faculty may appoint.

Study hours.

Sec. 2. Study hours shall begin in the forenoon one hour after ringing of the bell for morning prayers, and continue till 12 o'clock; in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, and continue till one hour before evening prayers; and in the evening two hours after the ringing of the bell for evening prayers, and continue till 9 o'clock.

Commencement.

Sec. 3. The Annual commencement shall be holden on the second Thursday in July.

Vacations.

Sec. 4 There shall be one vacation, twelve weeks in each year of from the second Thursday in July to the first Thursday in October.

## Chapter VII.

### of rooms.

Assignment of them.

Section 1. The rooms shall each year be assigned to the students by the Faculty; and no student shall change his room without leave. The rooms are designed for two occupants, but if any student desires to room alone, he can have the privilege of doing so by paying double rent, and when any room shall have been so rented to a single occupant, no other student shall be permitted to occupy it with him without paying to the College Treasury the sum usually charged for room rent.

Treatment of them.

Sec. 2. Every student is required to observe neatness and cleanliness in his room, and refrain from all that may in any way deface or injure it.

No changes, alterations, or additions, shall be made in any room without leave from the Faculty, nor except at the student's expense. Nor shall any papers, plates, or pictures be pasted or nailed up in any room without leave.

Rights and mutual duties of the occupants.

Sec. 3. The occupants of any room shall have the exclusive control of it, subject to the Faculty, and may exclude, especially in study hours, all such visitors as may interrupt their studies. Nor shall one occupant of a room be allowed to disregard the wishes of the other, by the unseasonable introduction of company, or by interrupting his studies in any way.

Responsibilities.

Sec. 4. Each student shall be held responsible for every disturbance or violation of law taking place in his room, unless he can show that such disturbance or violation occurred without his

knowledge or negligence. He shall also be responsible for any damage done in it while occupied by him, unless he can show that it was not done by himself, or through his neglect.

Breaking open doors.

Sec. 5. If any student shall refuse to open his door when required by one of the Faculty, the officer may break open the door, and the student shall be charged with all the expenses of repairing the injury thus done, and otherwise punished, if circumstances shall seem to require it.

Returning keys.

Sec. 6. The occupants of each room, before they leave the College at the close of a term, are required to deliver the key of their room to the President or such other person as may be designated, with a label attached to it, inscribed with the number of the room. Whoever neglects to comply with this law, shall be responsible for all the loss or damage which may result from such neglect. All furniture and other property left in the rooms during vacations, must be at the risk of the owners.

Residence in room during vacation.

Sec. 7. If any student shall wish to reside in his room during the vacation, he shall obtain leave from the officer by whom the room was assigned to him.

## Chapter VII. (VIII).

### of the general deportment of students.

General principles.

Section 1. As the object of this Institution is to promote the intellectual and moral improvement of all connected with it, each individual is required, in all his conduct, to regard this end, and from a regard alike to his own interests, and to the common good, zealously to co-operate with the Faculty in maintaining the rules of good order and morality.

Respect for law.

Sec. 2. As a regard to the authority of the law, is at the foundation of all good order in every community, every student is re-

quired, not only to avoid all open violation of the laws, but all that would tend to impair their influence or diminish their authority, and to do all in his power to give them a salutary influence over every member of the Institution.

Duties of the Faculty.

Sec. 3. As the Faculty are entrusted with the duty of sustaining and administering the laws, and maintaining and promoting the welfare of the Institution, the students are required not only to treat them with that politeness which is required by the rules of refined society, but also with that respect and deference which is due to them as executors of the laws, and the constituted guardians of the Institution.

Duties to each other.

Sec. 4. In their intercourse with each other, the students are required to observe those principles of benevolence, honor and integrity which are essential to the welfare of every well regulated community, and which are alike founded on the Word of God, and on the reason and conscience of man.

Formation of habits.

Sec. 5. As the formation of correct habits is decidedly the most important part of an education, the students are required to avoid all which tends to produce irregularity in the discharge of their duties—to relax their energies, and divide and weaken their minds, and to cultivate habits of industry, regularity, energy and perseverance. in the pursuit of their studies, and in the discharge of all their duties.

## Chapter IX.

### of absence from college exercises.

Previous excuse required.

Section 1. No student shall absent himself from morning or evening prayers, or the public exercises of the Sabbath, or his regular recitations, or other appointed exercises, without previous permission from some one of the Faculty.

Sec. 2. When from some unforseen cause, it is impossible to obtain such permission, the student shall make report of his case within twenty-four hours after his delinquency, to that member of the faculty whose province it is to receive his excuse. Time of giving excuse.

Sec. 3. No student shall leave any class with which he has once connected himself without permission from the instructor of that class. Nor shall any student leave the Institution without permission. Leaving a class or the institution.

Sec. 4. Any student wilfully absenting himself and without excuse from the prescribed examinations of his class, may be dismissed from the Institution; nor, shall any excuse be received subsequently but in writing. Wilful absence from examination.

Sec. 5. Any student who shall appear to be incorrigibly indolent or negligent, in his attendance on the exercises of the Institution, or whose presence, from ill health or any other cause, shall be considered useless to himself or injurious to others, shall be removed from the Institution by his friends, or be dismissed. Incorrigible indolence and negligence.

Sec. 6. If any student shall be absent from college exercises four times without excuse in any half term, he shall be privately admonished; if eight times, he shall receive a second admonition, and his parent or guardian shall be informed; and if twelve times, he shall be dismissed. Absence from college exercises.

## Chapter X.

### of order and decorum.

Section 1. There shall not be permitted at any hour, on the College premises, any noise which will interrupt study, or any assemblages or sports tending to produce such noise. Improper noise.

Sec. 2. No music, vocal or instrumental, shall be permitted during study hours, or after 10 o'clock at night. Music, when forbidden.

Intoxicating liquors prohibited.

Disuse of tobacco.

Sec. 3. No student shall bring, keep or use upon the College premises, any intoxicating liquors or other exhilarating substances. Nor shall any tobacco be used in any public rooms or entries, and its entire disuse in every form is earnestly recommended to every student.

Gunpowder and fire-arms prohibited.

Sec. 4. No gunpowder or other explosive material, nor any fire-arms, shall be kept or used on the College premises, or brought upon them.

Improper absence from rooms.

Sec. 5. No student shall be allowed to be absent from his room, except to attend some College exercises, during study hours or after 10 o'clock at night.

Convivial meetings prohibited.

Sec. 6. No convivial meetings shall be allowed at the room of any student.

## Chapter XI.

### of injuries to the buildings or premises.

Cutting Buildings, etc.

Section 1. No student shall cut or scratch, write upon, or in any way deface or injure the College Buildings or furniture, under penalty of a fine of not less than one dollar, or such other penalty as the Faculty may judge necessary.

Injuring trees, crops, etc.

Sec. 2. No student shall cut or otherwise injure any tree on the College lands—or without permission pluck any garden, orchard or fruit, or injure any crops, throw down any fences, or in any way trespass upon College or private property. Whoever shall violate this law shall be liable to a bill of damages of at least two-fold the amount of the loss, and to a fine or other penalties according to circumstances.

Playing ball or throwing missiles.

Sec. 3. No student shall play at hand or foot ball in or near any of the College Buildings, or throw anything by which the College Buildings may be in danger of damage, under penalty of a fine not exceeding one dollar, or to such other penalty as the Faculty may think necessary.

Carrying fire and care of fires.

Sec. 4. No student shall carry fire to his room in such a manner as to endanger the College buildings; and in all cases of exposure, fire shall be carried only in close vessels. Nor shall students ever leave their rooms until they have so disposed of their fire as to obviate all danger from it during their absence. The violation of this law shall expose the offender to a heavy fine.

Throwing into the yard filth &c.

Sec. 5. No student shall throw from his windows, or in any other way, into the College yard, or about the buildings, any rubbish or nuisance of any kind, or anything which may tend to disfigure the yard; but shall preserve not only his own room, but every part of the College premises as neat and cleanly as possible.

## Chapter XII.

### of crimes and immoralities.

Intoxicating drinks.

Section 1. No student, while connected with this College, shall drink ardent spirits, wine or any other intoxicating beverage; and in joining this College, every student shall be understood as adopting a pledge of total abstinence from the same, except for sacramental or medicinal purposes. Any violation of this law will subject the offender to admonition, suspension or dismission, according to the aggravation of the offense.

Profaneness.

Sec. 2. If any student shall be guilty of using profane language, he shall be admonished; and if he still persist, he may be dismissed.

Assaulting a student.

Sec. 3. If any student shall be guilty of assaulting a fellow-student, or of using personal violence towards him, he shall be required to make suitable reparation to the injured party, and be admonished privately or publicly, or punished in such other way, as the aggravation of the offense may demand.

Retaliation.

Sec. 4. If any student having received personal violence or insult from a fellow-student, shall attempt to redress his own grievances by violent retaliation, he shall be liable to the penalties specified in the preceding section.

Deadly weapons.

Sec. 5. No student shall carry deadly weapons upon his person, on penalty of admonition, dismission or expulsion, according to the aggravation of the offence.

Sabbath breaking.

Sec. 6. If any student shall violate the Sabbath, he shall be admonished, or otherwise punished as the nature and demerit of the offence shall require.

Lewdness.

Sec. 7. If any student shall be guilty of impure conversation, or lewd conduct, or of introducing corrupt books, paintings or plates, he shall be admonished, suspended or expelled, according to the aggravation of the offense.

Gambling.

Sec. 8. If any student shall gamble or play at cards, or any game of chance, or shall have at his room or on College premises, any cards for playing, he shall be admonished or dismissed, according to the aggravation of the offence.

Breaking into rooms, or entering by false keys.

Sec. 9. If any student shall break open any door, or enter any room but his own by a false key, or one which does not belong to the door, or by any window, he shall be liable to expulsion.

Riotous or uproarious conduct.

Sec. 10. If any student shall be guilty of making any uproarious noises, or of any other riotous or indecent conduct tending to disturb the peace of the neighborhood, either on College premises or elsewhere, he shall be liable to any of the penalities specified in this code, or he shall be proceeded against before the proper civil authorities, at the discretion of the Faculty.

Suspended or expelled students to leave the premises.

Sec. 11. Any student when suspended, dismissed or expelled, shall leave the College premises at whatever time the Faculty may direct. In case of a refusal, the Faculty shall, if necessary, call

in the aid of the civil authority that the offender may be forthwith removed, and increase the severity of the punishment, where it admits of being increased.

Rules of common law in force.

Sec. 12. Whereas it is not the design of these laws to include every possible case of offence, but only to include the most common and injurious, in all cases not here specified, the rules of common law, common decency, and common sense, shall be the standard, both of conduct and of judgment.

## Chapter XIII.

### Of the Librarian and Library.

By whom Librarian appointed under direction of the faculty.

Section 1. The Trustees shall appoint a Librarian, who shall act in accordance with the directions of the Faculty, in all cases not provided for by the laws of the trustees.

Opening library.

Sec. 2. The Librarian shall open the library for letting out and returning books, on two several days of each week, during Term-time. There shall be but one key to the library room, and that shall only go out of the Librarian's possession at his own discretion, and on his own responsibility.

But one key.

Who may have access.

Sec. 3. All students may have access to the Library by complying with the existing laws on the subject.

Books, how long to be retained.

Sec. 4. No books shall be retained by any one, unless a member of the Faculty, longer than two weeks, on penalty of five cents each for Library day beyond.

Number of books drawn at a time.

Sec. 5. No student shall draw more than two volumes at a time, which shall be returned before taking more.

Books taken out without being charged.

Sec. 6. If any person shall take a book from the Library, which has not been charged, or presented to the Librarian to be charged

on the book kept by the Librarian for that purpose, he shall be liable to a fine of five dollars.

Books all returned: semi-annual inspection.

Sec. 7. During the week of each semi-annual examination all books shall be returned, and the Library inspected by a committee appointed by the Trustees.

Books not to be lent.

Sec. 8. No student shall lend any book belonging to the Library; and if any book shall be lost, defaced or torn, the person taking it out shall pay a fine proportionate to the injury, or replace it, as the Faculty shall direct. If the volume lost or materially injured belongs to a set, he may be required to replace the set, and take the injured or broken set as his own,

Injuries to books.

Sec. 9. No student who has been fined shall be allowed to draw books until the fine is paid.

## Chapter XIV.

### of conferring degrees.

Reviews and examinations.

Section 1. At the close of each half Term there shall be a review of such parts of the studies of the term as the Faculty shall judge expedient, and an examination of them all: which examination shall be strict and impartial, and open to all who may choose to attend.

Examination at the close of the Junior year.

Sec. 2. At the end of the Junior year there shall be an examination of the Class on all the studies of the first three years of the course, and any student failing to pass the examination satisfactorily shall be required to review the studies on which he has failed, and be subjected to another examination upon them previous to being recommended to the Trustees as a candidate for a degree.

On whom and when degrees shall be conferred

Sec. 3. On the day of the Annual Commencement the President shall confer on those members of the Senior Class, who shall have been recommended by the faculty and approved by a vote of the

ALUMNI OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE.

Trustees, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and present to them a Diploma, authenticated by the seal of the College, as a testimonial of the same.

Requisites for the Master degree.

Sec. 4. Bachelors of three years standing, and of good moral character, on giving suitable evidence of appropriate progress in literary and scientific attainments, may be, on application to the Trustees, admitted to the degree of Master.

Fee to the President for degrees.

Sec. 5. The candidates for the first or second degree shall each pay to the President the sum of five dollars for the same.

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## Chapter XV.

### LAWS HEREIN REPEALED.

All laws hitherto enacted which are inconsistent with this Code, are hereby repealed—all others not hitherto repealed are still in force.

# A TRIAL SCENE IN KASKASKIA IN 1781.

(By May Allinson, University of Illinois.)

The conquest of the British forts in the Illinois country by George Rogers Clark brought this region under the control of Virginia but brought with it a great responsibility and a difficult charge—that of maintaining order and some form of government over a French population.

In December, 1778, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act establishing the County of Illinois which included the region between the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. In accordance with this act, the Governor of Virginia commissioned John Todd as County Lieutenant or Commander-in-chief of the county of Illinois with power and instructions to establish a government in this region.

In May, 1779, a court of nine judges was elected and established at Kaskaskia under the guidance of Clark and Todd.[1] These judges or *juges a paix* were Frenchmen of old and prominent French families in the Illinois country and had jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. Francois Carbonneaux, royal notary and clerk of the court under the British regime since 1776,[2] was retained after taking the oath of office and fidelity to the Commonwealth of Virginia.[3] Richard Winston was made Grand Sheriff of the district of Kaskaskia and also held the office of Deputy Commandant of the County of Illinois.[4] In spite of these provisions for peace and order, jealousies and suspicions arose between the two races and among the officers themselves, which resulted in continual quarreling and disturbance. By the fall of 1779, Todd's relations with his people as well as his brother officers had become so strained that he despaired of accomplishing his purpose and left the Illinois country in October or November.

After Todd's departure, Winston assumed control of affairs in Kaskaskia as Commandant[5] and later as Lieutenant of the County, but with no better success than his predecessor. Winston, himself, wrote in March, 1780, that "everything is in confusion at Illinois."[6] The court was unable to assert and maintain its authority and on some

1 *Draper Collection*, 49 J 43. Clark's Letter, May 12, 1779.
2 *Kaskaskia Docs.*, Deposition before Notary, Oct. 27, 1776.
3 *Ibid*, Court Records, 1779.
4 *Ibid*, Order of the Court, May 13, 1780.
5 *Draper Collection*, 50 J 9, Montgomery's Letter to Clark, Feb. 1, 1780.
6 *Draper Coll.*, 50 J 17, Todd's Letter to Clark, March 10, 1780.

occasions was openly defied by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia.[1] The peace of Kaskaskia was disturbed as well by the quarrels and disaffections of the civil and military officials. Colonel Montgomery, who was in command of the troops of Illinois, and Winston accused each other of misappropriating the peltries of the state. Winston was finally arrested by Montgomery and forced to replace the missing peltries. Montgomery left his post without orders to take a trip down the Mississippi and was said to have appropriated to his own use, several boatloads of the provisions of the state.[2] Dodge, agent for the Indian Department, was one of the most hated men in Kaskaskia because of his many illegal acts.

The antagonism of the French inhabitants towards the Virginians was increased by Colonel de la Balme, a French officer who appeared in the Illinois country in the summer of 1780, and was received by "the inhabitants as the Hebrews would recieve the Messiah."[3] He encouraged the inhabitants to get rid of the hated Virginia troops by refusing to furnish them any more provisions.[4]

Richard McCarthy, Commandant at Cahokia, admitted that "many things had been done which should not" and declared that "the hatred of us has been raised to such a pitch that they will suffer no troops here * * * * in short, as things are now, the people are alienated and changed from us."[5] "We are become the hated Beasts of a whole people by Pressing horses, Boats, &c., Killing Cattle, &c., for which no valuable consideration is given, many not a certificate which is hear looked on as next to nothing."[6]

The confusion was increased in 1780 by the immigration of Americans into Illinois from Virginia and other eastern states. Some of the soldiers of the Virginia troops remained in this region after the expiration of their terms of service. People came from the east to settle and others merely te see the country. They came from a great distance with the expectation of being assisted by the government and by the time they reached Illinois they were greatly impoverished. The failure of the state to provide the necessary men and provisions "involved both the troops and settlers in much distress and greatly damped the spirits of industry" which at first characterized the newcomers.[7]

In the summer of 1781, Todd and Clark decided that it was impracticable to maintain so many posts in Illinois with so few men and such scarcity of provisions and determined to draw them all to one post at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.[8] In April, Captain Rogers and his company left Kaskaskia[9] and in June, Colonel Montgomery and his troops evacuated Fort Jefferson.[10] Illi-

1 Mason's "John Todd Papers" in *Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv, 340.
2 *Kaskaskia Docs.*, Girault's Letters.
3 *Draper Coll.*, 50 J 69, Winston's Letter, Oct. 14, 1780.
4 *Ibid*, 50 J 66, Extract from McCarthy's Journal, Oct. 14, 1780.
5 *Draper Coll.*, 50 J 66, Extract from McCarthy's Journal, Oct. 14, 1780.
6 Mason's "John Todd Papers," in *Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV, 337.
7 *Ibid*, 332.
8 *Ibid*, 324.
9 *Draper Coll.*, Shannon's Letter to Clark, May 21, 1781.
10 Mason's "John Todd Papers," in *Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV, 356.

nois was now rid of the Virginia troops, but if we may believe Cerré, president of the court of Kaskaskia in 1779, "after the troops were withdrawn the power of the magistrates was annihiliated and everything fell into anarchy and canfusion."[1]

The burden of maintaining law and order now fell on the court of Kaskaskia which in 1781 represented some of the oldest French families in the Illinois country.[2] Jacques La Source, president of the court, came of an old French family which is mentioned in the Kaskaskia records in the third decade of the eighteenth century. Antoine and Vital Bauvais[3] were sons of Jean Baptiste St. Geme Bauvais, Sr., a French Canadian who settled in Illinois in the first quarter of the century. Nicholas La Chanse, Antoine Duchaufort de Louviere, Jean Baptiste Barbau, and Nicholas Janis had been members of the court since 1779; Jean Baptiste Charleville and Michel Godin, the two remaining members, were also prominent in the affairs of Kaskaskia.

In spite of the prestige of its members, the court of 1781 was no more able to maintain peace and order than before. The civil and military authorities had seldom worked peacebly together, but the presence of troops in the country had tended to exert an influence for order over those more inclined towards lawlessness. American frontiersmen were increasing in Illinois in 1780 and 1781 and the removal of the troops left the court without means of enforcing the law. Some of these Americans refused to submit to the decrees of the French magistrates. Some of the discharged soldiers continued to live off the inhabitants as formerly. The resentment and suspicion which the French inhabitants felt towards the Americans was increased by the lawlessness of these frontiersmen.

The trial of six Americans which occurred in August, 1781, illustrates some of the difficulties which the French court encountered and also the character of some of these American newcomers. The records of this trial, which lasted from the twenty-seventh to the thirtieth of August, cover thirty-nine foolscap pages and are divided into two separate sections—the prosecution consisting of twelve pages and the defense, twenty-seven pages. The trial with all its details was recorded by Carbonneaux as clerk of the court, and the evidence and decrees of the court were signed by Barbau as judge. Parts of these records[4] are translated to show the manner in which the case was conducted and the form in which the record was kept.

On the twenty-third of August a petition signed by eleven Frenchmen was presented to the court by Nicholas La Chanse, captain of the militia. The petition stated the grievances of the inhabitants against six Americans—John Duff, David Hicks, Henry Smith, Elisha Fornelson, Shadrach Bond, and Benjamin Brown, who were accused of killing the cattle and other animals of the people of Kaskaskia. At the requisition of La Chanse, the six accused were arrested and placed in the custody of the militia.

1 Douglas, "Jean Gabriel Cerré," in *Ill. State Hist. Lib. Pub.*, No. 8, 1903.

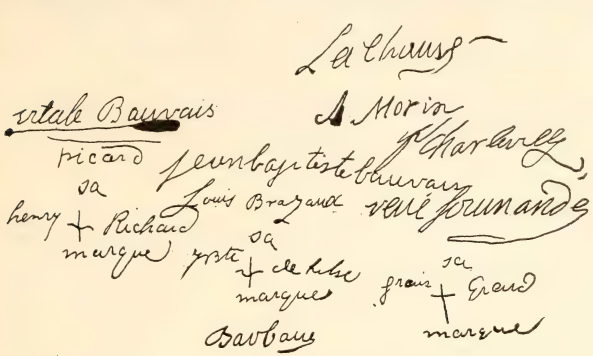
2 *Kaskaskia Docs.*, Court Records.

3 Bauvais is the correct spelling according to his own signature.

4 This document is among the Kaskaskia records discovered by Mr. C. W. Alvord, for the Illinois State Historical Library.

On the 25th of August

* "there appeared the Sieurs Nicholas La Chanse, Jean Baptiste Bauvais, Pierre Picard, Antoine Morin, Louise Brazau, Francois Charleville, Vital Bauvais, Jean Baptiste, Francois Giard, René Soumande, Henry Richard. The above named took oath that the contents of the petition which they signed is sincere and true, of which some signed and some made their mark."



The petition was received by the court and writs served upon the witnesses to

"appear this day [August 27th] before the court at one o'clock in the afternoon to give evidence which shall be received by the court * * *

"Inquiry made by the Court of the District of Kaskaskia at the requisition of M. Nicholas La Chanse and some of the inhabitants of this place, petitioning and complaining against the said David Hicks, accused, and his accomplices, with which inquest we have proceeded as has also the states attorney

"On the twenty-seventh of August, 1781, at about one o'clock in the afternoon there appeared Patrick M'Clasqué, about forty years of age and living in this place of Kaskaskia at the home of Mr. Janis, in the parish of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. After he had taken the oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God to speak the truth, he told the court that he was not a relative, servant or domestic of the parties. He produced the writ of summons given to him to give evidence at the request of M. La Chanse * * * on the points mentioned in the complaints, which were read by the clerk of the court and explained by M. Thomas Price, Interpreter.

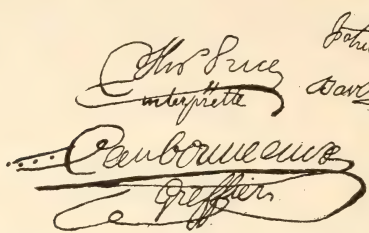
He declared that he was in the house where lived David Hicks and his accomplices and saw the meat of a French ox as well as the hide * * * He declared, moreover, that having forgotten his powder horn on the edge of the water, he was passing through the orchard of Henry Smith when he met one of the daughters of the said Smith. She asked him "What news?" He replied that the four who had been arrested that morning were in irons and perhaps her father Said the girl, "My father is innocent; it was Duff who carried the French meat into the house, saying that he had bought the same from a Frenchman."

He was asked if he had any thing more to say concerning this affair. He replied that he had nothing more to say; that he had told all he knew.

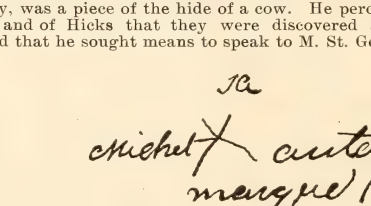
Reading was made to him of his deposition and he said that it contained the truth; that he presisted in it under the oath which he had taken. He

* Photographic reproductions are shown of the signatures to some of the more important of these papers.

said that he did not wish any pay and signed with us, the interpreter and clerk undersigned. He said, moreover, that Duff had said, "May the Devil take me if I want for fresh meat."



Michel Antaya, the next witness, said that he was twenty-five years old, a laborer in Kaskaskia. and a member of the Roman Catholic Church. He said that he had seen a boat which had been used to carry meat which was still bloody. He had also found in the house where lived four of those arrested, some tallow of a French ox and a kettle of meat stew. Outside near the chimney, was a piece of the hide of a cow. He perceived by the face of the woman and of Hicks that they were discovered and that the man was so troubled that he sought means to speak to M. St. Geme Bauvais.[1]



Paul Des Ruisseaux. a "laboreur" forty years of age and a Roman Catholic, was a man of some prominence in Kaskaskia. He is spoken of elsewhere as a merchant in Kaskaskia and married one of the two daughters of M. Jean Baptiste Bauvais, Sr. He testified that he also had seen the evidences of a cow recently killed. In the house of the four accused he had noticed a bench on which meat had been cut up and there was grease and blood on the stakes which surrounded the house.

P. Des Ruisseaux

Louis de Lilse next appeared and after taking the oath and producing his summons, was asked

"his name, age, dwelling-place, religion and profession.

He answered that his name was Louis de Lilse, that he was twenty-three years old and lived with his mother in this place. He was of the apostolic and Roman Catholic religion, and was a laborer by profession.

He was asked if he had any knowledge of the five accused who were in the custody of the militia and of the causes stated in the petition which had just been read to him, and if he would give an accurate account to us.

He answered that he had been in the field with the M. Louis Brazeau and had found there the remains of a cow which had just been killed * * * He

1 A representative record of the testimony of two of the witnesses and one of the accused s given in full (with a few ommissions). The rest is necessarily summarized and condensed to save space and avoid repetition.

with the said M. Louis Brazeau had carried the said meat home. The following day they went to the fort of the Indians and the next day to the house of M. Bentley, but found nothing there. The next day, they went to the house of Madame de Gagné where they found a piece of the hide of a cow's foot buried at the end of the house * * * In the house they found a little tallow on the door and also a kettle in which there had been some French meat in the morning. They seized those who were in the house and took them to the house of M. Winston. The said witness stated that he was put on guard at the door of the house. M. Toutouse seized what was in the house and while searching found some meat of a French animal salted in a barrel, and in another some brandy."

He was asked if he had anything more to say.

He replied that he had not.

Reading was made to him of his deposition. He said that it contained the truth, that he presisted in it and that he wished no pay. He declared that he did not know how to sign his name and made his mark and we have signed with our clerk.

sa
Louis x de Lilse
marque

Antoine Caillot La Chanse, the next witness, said that he was a carpenter about seventeen years old and a Roman Catholic. He lived with his father in Kaskaskia. He had visited the De Gagné (Hicks) house and had seen the things previously described by De Lilse, but had no knowledge of the boat mentioned by Antaya.

Antoinne Lachanse

Nicholas Canada said that he was a Roman Catholic and a blacksmith in Kaskaskia, living in the house of Madame Charles Robin. He testified that he had gone with a party of men to search the house of Henry Smith on the other side of the river. When they arrived, they said that they had come to search the house and went up to the garret. They found there the head of an animal and two pieces of the meat of an ox or a cow. When he asked the master of the house where he had obtained that meat, he was unable to understand his reply, and so told him to come and make his explanations to Mr. Winston. When they had crossed the river, Smith asked why they had not taken Duff, also, as he was in the house. The witness said that the searching party returned to get him, but when they arrived he was gone.

sa
Nicolas x Canada
marque

John Sinclair said that he was a laborer about seventeen years of age and of the "religion pretendue reforme": that he lived in the house of Winston and his step-father. He testified that he had joined the party which went to search the Smith farm. When they entered Smith's house, they told him their purpose and Smith told them to go ahead and search the house. Sinclair said that he overheard Duff say to his master in a low voice, "Take care. There is a piece * * * which they might happen to see." Their voices were then slightly raised and he heard Smith say, "Is it necessary to pay for the meat?" Mr. Brazau asked Smith where he had obtained the meat. Smith said that he would make his explanations to Mr. Winston, but Duff said, "Go ahead and tell them."

John Sinclair

Charles Chauvin Charleville, a Roman Catholic and a merchant about twenty-nine years of age, had visited the Hicks house and verified the testimony of the other witnesses who had been there.

Ch Charleville

Antoine Janis, Jr., who was also summoned to appear, was detained at home because of illness.

The record of the prosecution closes as follows:

"The year seventeen hundred eighty-one and the twenty-eighth day of August in the presence of the justices of the peace and the magistrates of the District of Kaskaskia in the County of Illinois at six o'clock in the morning."

Preparations were then made for hearing the defense on the twenty-eighth of August.

"Wishing to question the said Jean Duff on the points arising from the charges and inquiry made against him at the request of the M. Nicholas La-Chanse, captain of the militia, of other inhabitants, and of the states attorney, and having recognized that the accused are strangers and do not understand the French language, we have appointed Mr. Thomas Price interpreter, named for that office yesterday, and M. Patrike M'Claskué, whom we have just named interpreter for the English language. According to the oath of office which he has now taken, the questions which shall be asked shall be explained by him to the accused and the responses shall be explained to us by M. Thomas Price and Patrike M'Claskué."

John Duff, who had been taken from the custody of the militia by the sheriff, was then brought before the court. The interpreter, Thomas Price, instructed Duff in English to raise his hand and repeat these words, "I promise to God to speak the truth." This done he was asked of what place he was a native, his name, age, occupation, and dwelling-place.

"This question, Mr. Thomas Price explained to the accused, who said, as the Sieur Thomas Price explained to us, that the accused was called John Duff, aged twenty-one years, a native of South Carolina, and living for some time in the house of Henry Smith of this village.

The accused was asked what was his motive in coming to this place.

He answered through the M. Thomas Price that he had come in the first place to Natchez with his step-father and from there here to see the country.

When asked if he had come to settle, he replied that he had not.

He was asked if he had any knowledge of any animals which had been killed in this place between the nineteenth and twenty-ninth of this month.

He replied through the interpreter that he had no knowledge of any except one which he himself had killed on the twenty-first of the present month. This was a small ox.

He was asked if he was obliged to kill this ox.

He answered that it was from a whim and that he carried it to his house.

He was asked if he had killed any others, hogs or other animals belonging to the inhabitants since he had been in this place.

He answered by the interpreter that he had not killed any others since he had left the troops.

He was asked if he did not know that it was forbidden by the law to do injury to the property of the inhabitants who are in the public care.

He answered that he knew that it was forbidden everywhere.

He was asked if he had been induced by someone to do this mischief and at the same time this manifest robbery.

He answered that he had done it of his own accord.

He was asked if he knew of any one else who was guilty of a similar disturbance and had killed the animals of the inhabitants; he was exhorted to tell the truth under the oath which he had taken.

He declared that he had no knowledge of any.

He was asked if his host into whose house he had carried the meat of the ox which he had killed was not an accomplice with him.

He replied by the interpreter that his host was asleep when he carried the meat into his house and that he told him he had bought it of a Frenchman.

He was asked if he had not said the day he was arrested that he was only a little rogue but that there were some * * * here who were greater rascals than he; * * * that he knew them well but that he would not name them.

He replied by the intrepreter that he had not said that he knew them but that he suspected them as some others.

* * * * * * *

He was asked by the interpreter if he had not told the girls where he lived that as long as he was with them he would not want for fresh meat.

He replied * * * that so long as he had the powder he knew he could get the meat; that he was a good huntsman.

He was asked if he had any knowledge of two young bulls which had been killed across from his house about two weeks ago.

He replied by the interpreter that he had not.

He was asked if he had given to anyone any part of the ox which he killed.

He replied by the interpreter that he had not.

* * * * * * *

He was asked if he recognized a piece of writing, written and signed by his hand, which was said to have been found in the court the day he was arrested, and which was presented to him by Mr. Thomas Price, interpreter.

He replied that he had written it; that it contained in the English language the following: "To Mr. Winston—This is for my humble submission to you. I hope in paying for the said transgression that this may satisfy the court and so in giving up myself, I am ready to surrender myself to the court. From Jean Duff. August 24, 1781."

He was asked if he had anything more to say in his justification.

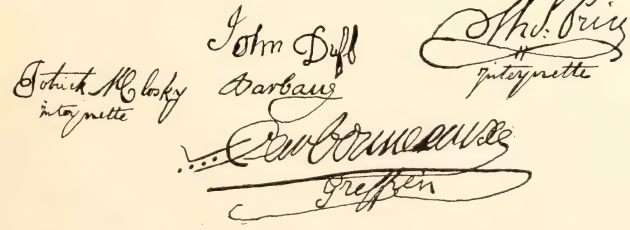
He replied by the interpreter that he had no desire to save himself except by paying for the wrong which he had done; that he believed in being free from debt. Moreover, he owed some small debts in the village that he would have liked to have paid before his departure, being of an honest family. He had nothing more to say except that as for the crime he had committed, he prayed the court to take into consideration that he was a mere boy, during his stay in this place. This was all he had to say.

He was asked if he had not intended to fire on the guard who had arrested him.

He replied * * * that when he was first siezed, he thought it was some Indians, who sought to capture him, but when he saw who it was he immediately surrendered and fired his gun in the air.

Reading was made to him of his examination. He said that these responses contained the truth and that he persisted in it. He signed with us and the two interpreters and the accused was returned to the care of the militia.

Done this day and year as above.



David Hicks, who was next brought before the court, said that he was twenty-five years old, a native of Virginia, and had lived in Kaskaskia about two years. He had come out as a soldier in Colonel Montgomery's troops and after his discharge had remained in this country. He denied having any knowledge of the animals which had been killed in this neighborhood.

He was asked how it could be that he knew nothing of them when a cow had been killed and taken into his house at night.

He replied that he had not seen the cow killed but that he had seen the meat in his house, and admitted that he believed it was the meat of a French cow. He said that Elisha Fornelson had carried it there, but that he had not seen any of it eaten nor had he eaten any of it himself.

He was asked why he had not warned Mr. Winston when he perceived that the meat had been killed and carried into his house in the night. He said that he was arrested early in the morning and had not had time. He was asked if the people who lived in his house were accustomed to commit such deeds; that the inhabitants had for a long time complained of the destruction of their animals. He declared that it was the first time, so far as he was aware, that they had carried any meat into his house. He was questioned concerning the evidences of his guilt described by the former witnesses; the hide buried at the end of the house, the barrel of salted meat, etc., but he declared he had no positive knowledge as to who had done these things. He was asked if it was not likely that he had a complete knowledge of what had happened in his own house when he was present; it would appear that he had violated his oath.

He replied that he was mortified that the court had a bad opinion of him, but that he could not tell what he had not seen.

A letter was then produced which he had written to Winston imploring his advice and assistance in making his defense, as this was "the first offense of which I have been accused." He went on to say in this letter that he did not wish to acquit himself by accusing the others, but he would try to the best of his ability to tell the whole truth. He begged that it might be taken into consideration that we are all likely to make some errors, and are too much inclined to fall by the too frequent bad examples, but he hoped that his former conduct would make amends for what had passed and, at least, show his disapproval of such things.

When the letter had been read to the court, Hicks was asked if it did not appear by his own letter that he had not told all he knew. He, however, presisted under oath that his testimony was true and that he knew nothing more than he had told. He was therefore dismissed and returned to the custody of the militia.

D. Hicks.

Henry Smith, in response to the usual questions, said that he was about forty-five years old, a native of Virginia and a laborer. He had come out here to settle and had lived in Kaskaskia almost a year. He, now, had his house and family in this place.

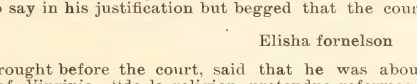
"He was asked if he knew that some Virginians and other vagabonds, including one who lived in his house, had killed some animals of the French inhabitants." Smith said that he had seen none of the animals of the community killed but he knew that one which had the appearance of French meat had been carried into his house. When further questioned, he said that John Duff had brought the meat into the house but had said that he bought it of a Frenchman. He was asked why he had not informed Mr. Winston or some of the other magistrates, knowing that it was the meat of an animal which had been killed secretly. Smith, however, insisted that he did not know that Duff had killed it, nor did he know when it was carried into the house. He had not noticed that there was meat in the house until ten o'clock in the morning, and when he had asked who had brought it there, Duff said he had bought it. He was asked how Duff could have carried a young ox into his house and he, the master of the house, know nothing about it, but Smith declared that he had discovered the meat only three hours before the guard entered the house. He persisted that he knew nothing of this or any other animals which had been killed in this neighborhood. "He was asked where he was going when the Indians met him on the water with his boat laden with meat going towards his house, according to the report of the said Indians, and where he had taken the said meat." Smith declared that he had not been in a boat below the fort of Kaskaskia for more than five months. When asked if he had anything more to say in his justification, he replied that he had nothing to say except that he was mortified to find himself suspected of such a thing for he and his family wished to live honestly under the laws of the country.

Henry Smith

Elisha Fornelson, the fourth prisoner, stated that he was about twenty-three years old, a native of Virginia and a hunter. He "had come out to see the country" and had lived in Kaskaskia since spring. He was asked if he had any knowledge of the animals which had been killed in the community by some vagabond Virginians and others; if so, he should disclose the facts at once. He declared that he had no knowledge of any except the one which had been carried into the Hicks house and that Hicks himself had carried it there. He, at first, denied that he had taken any part in the affair, but admitted that he had eaten "his part [of the meat] for supper." He had no knowledge of any of it being given away, nor did he know who had salted the barrel of French meat which had been found in the garret of the house where he had been arrested. He finally, however, confessed that he had not only helped Hicks carry it into the house but had killed the cow himself: that he and Hicks had done it of their own will and with no aid from anyone. He was asked how many he had killed since he had been in this country and since he made a business of "marodeur." He said that he had killed only this one but he had heard of others being killed. He was asked whom he had heard say this. He said he had heard Nicholas Smith, who had lost one of his animals in this way, speak of it; had heard it said that it was the negroes for there was a dance there that day. He was asked what passport he had brought in coming to see the country but he said that he had none. He had nothing further to say in his justification but begged that the court would have pity on him.

Elisha fornelson

Shadrach Bond, when brought before the court, said that he was about thirty years old, a native of Virginia, "de la religion pretendue reformee," and a laborer. He had come out here with Colonel Clarke and since his discharge had worked for the inhabitants. He had lived in the house of Hicks for nearly four months. He testified that he had gone to bed on the night of the twenty-second and had slept a short time when he was awakened. On looking about him, he saw Hicks carrying some meat into the house followed two or three minutes later by Fornelson. The men cooked some of the meat for supper and salted the rest in a small barrel. He was asked if he was boarding in that house or in what capacity he lived there. He replied that Hicks furnished the board but that he [the witness] worked and had no time to "finir" their company. "He was asked if he knew that that meat had been killed at night and consequently stolen, why he had not informed the officers." He replied that it was late and that he was not master of the house; on the morning of the next day he was arrested.



Benjamin Byron, the last prisoner, said that he was twenty-eight years old, a native of New Castle and a Protestant. He was a tailor by profession and had lived in Kaskaskia at the Hicks house since spring. He, also, had seen Hicks and Fornelson carry the meat into the house, but declared that he had gone to bed early and was arrested early in the morning, so could give no further evidence. The magistrate asked for the passport which all newcomers were supposed to present to the court, but he had no papers except his discharge from service and his oath of fidelity made near Fort Pitt.

Benjamin Byron

The examination of the accused was completed on the twenty-eighth of August and the court ordered that the whole should be communicated to the states attorney [Girault] to make such conclusions as he should deem proper.

After carefully examining and considering the evidence of the witnesses and the accused and the final conclusion of the states attorney, the court gave its sentence on the thirtieth of August. It

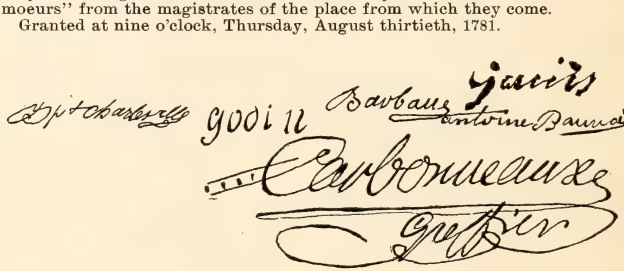
"condemned and does condemn Jean Duff, David Hicks, and Elisha Fornelson to be banished from the county of Illinois for life as vagabonds * * * and all of their possessions confiscated to cover expenses. The said court warns them that they reappear in the future on pain of exemplary punishment, having been caught and convicted of killing the animals * * * of the inhabitants as appears by their examination.

Condemned Henry Smith to pay one hundred twenty piastres for expenses for having allowed the said Jean Duff to carry into his house the meat of the animal which he had killed and which belonged to the inhabitants; and for not having informed the magistrates. This sum he must pay within a week * * * and as a security for this, his slaves shall be seized * * *

As for the said Shadrack Bond and Benjamin Byron, the court condemned each of them to pay the sum of forty piastres for having contributed to and known of the disturbance made by the said David Hicks and Elisha Fornelson and aiding in their concealment. They shall give security to pay this sum within two weeks and their personal effects shall be seized provisionally.

The court by special grace limited the banishment of the said Jean Duff, David Hicks, and Elisha Fornelson to three years' banishment, trusting that they will bring on their return to this country a certificate of "bonne vie et moeurs" from the magistrates of the place from which they come.

Granted at nine o'clock, Thursday, August thirtieth, 1781.



The records of this trial throw light not only on conditions in Kaskaskia—the attitude of the two races, and some of the problems of the French court—but on the character of several men whose names have become more or less prominent.

John Duff, one of the prisoners in 1781, was the leader of the party of hunters[1] which George Rogers Clark met at the mouth of the Tennessee River "but eight days from Kaskaskia."[2] These men gave Clark some valuable information as to the state of affairs in Kaskaskia and also offered their services, which were gladly accepted, in the expedition against the village.

Henry Smith, also one of the accused in the trial of 1781, was made president of the compromise court of three Frenchmen and three Americans which was established in May, 1787, by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia. He was thus given precedence over Antoine Bauvais, who had been president of the court of Kaskaskia from Sep-

1 Butler's *Kentucky*, 51

2 Pirtle's *Clark's Campaign in the Illinois*, 28

tember, 1781 to October, 1782, and also Jean Baptiste Bauvais and Francois Corset, former members of the court. This experiment, however, was found impracticable because of racial jealousies, etc., and in July a court of six Frenchmen replaced the compromise court.

Shadrack Bond was an uncle of the first governor of Illinois, who bore the same name and who first set in motion the machinery of government established under the constitution of 1818.

## 6. GENESIS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ILLINOIS.

(By Paul Selby.) 1

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While it is widely, if not universally, known that the impelling motive for the organization of the Republican party was the passage, in May, 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealing the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from territory north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, it is still true that, even before this act was consummated, but in anticipation of its early accomplishment, a strong demand had grown up among conservative men in most of the Northern, and even in some of the Border States, for the organization of a new party based on opposition to the further extension of slavery into free territory, or the admission into the Union of any more slave States. The movement was spontaneous—the result of circumstances—and was not limited to either of the existing parties, embracing both Whigs and Democrats, as well as the Free-Soilers as a body. Some of the advocates of a new party organization had already suggested the adoption of the name "Republican," and we have the authority of former Vice President Henry Wilson, in his "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," for the statement that, on the night following the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a meeting of Senators and Representatives in Congress who had opposed that measure indorsed the proposition looking to such an organization.

In Illinois this movement took the form of a call for a mass convention of the opponents of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to be held during the week of the State Fair in Springfield in October, 1854. The formal issue of this call was preceded, however, by local conventions of a similar character in nearly all the counties in the northern, and in some of the central and southern portions of the State, some of the most notable of these—because the earliest as well as the most emphatic in their utterances on the question at issue—being those held in the counties of Stephenson, Livingston, LaSalle, Kane, McHenry, Winnebago and others in those sections of the State. In the absence of previous organizations, these were generally what would be called "mass meetings" composed of self-appointed delegates—or persons acting on their own volition—and while they differed somewhat in the character of the resolutions adopted, they

1 This paper was read by the author at a meeting of the Illinois Republican Editorial Association, at Decatur, Illinois, September 14, 1904.

were universally agreed in their opposition to slavery extension and in their advocacy of a new party organization, some of them even adopting the name Republican. These were followed by conventions of a more formal character for the nomination of candidates for Congress in the three northern districts of the State—that for the First District being held at Rockford on August 19th and putting in nomination Elihu B. Washburne; the convention for the second (then the Chicago) District, held at Aurora, September 20th, naming as its candidate, James H. Woodworth, while in the convention held at Bloomington for the third District, Jesse O. Norton received the nomination after a bitter struggle lasting one whole day and far into the following night.[1] In the Alton and Belleville District Lyman Trumbull was nominated and elected as an avowed Anti-Nebraska Democrat; but before taking his seat, was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of 1855. In the other Congressional Districts of the State, the nominations were made on the old party lines, the regular Democratic candidates being successful. The resolutions adopted by the Second District Convention at Aurora, already alluded to, cut a unique figure in the Lincoln-Douglas debates four years later, to which reference will be made later on.

During the campaign of this year the State was visited by such distinguished anti-slavery champions as Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, Salmon P. Chase and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, while Ichabod Codding, a noted anti-slavery lecturer, made an extensive canvass, speaking in many counties. A noteworthy incident in connection with Cassius M. Clay's visit to Springfield, where he had an appointment to speak on the 10th of July, was the fact that he was refused, by the Democratic officials in charge, the privilege of speaking

1. At the risk of anticipating some points to be discussed more in detail farther on, but because of its connection with the Congressional convention at Bloomington just alluded to, I here quote some extracts from Capt. J. H. Burnham's "History of Bloomington and Normal" published in 1879. These will be found to sustain the claim made in this paper, that the movement for the organization of a new party, based on opposition to the further extension of slavery, had been actively inaugurated in this State, as it had been in several other Northern States, in 1854, promptly after the enactment by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Mr. Burnham says:

"Our city has always claimed that the great Republican party of the nation had its birth in Major's Hall in 1856. At the risk of being attacked for our audacity, we will undertake to declare this a spurious claim. In the fall of 1854, the opposition to the Nebraska bill all over the country fought its battles under different names, generally as the Free-Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, the Whig or American party, though in Massachusetts the Free-Soilers and Anti-Nebraska Democrats had declared themselves to be Republicans."

Then, after referring to the progress that had been made in solidifying the opponents of the Nebraska Act into a party organization, as shown by the election of N. P. Banks as Speaker of the Congressional House of Representatives in the winter of 1855-56, as well as the actual steps taken to organize a party under the name Republican in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and other Northern States, Mr. Burnham takes note of a meeting of the voters of McLean County held on the 9th of September, 1854, at which delegates were appointed to the State Convention to be held at Springfield in October following. While adopting the generally accepted statement appearing in State histories as to the strength of the Springfield Convention and the sentiments of those composing it, Mr. Burnham does it justice by recognizing it, if not "the first Republican State Convention," at least "historically the earliest on record."

While it is gen-rally acknowledged that Michigan took the lead in formally adopting the name Republican at a State Convention held at Jackson in that State, on July 6, 1854, it is still true that the same sentiments were being zealously advocated in other States, especially Wisconsin, Massachusetts and other New England States.

Coming down two years later, Captain Burnham gives a concise history of the State Convention appointed by a conference of Republican editors at Decatur on February 22, 1856, and held at Bloomington on May 29th following, of which, after describing the part taken in it by Abraham Lincoln, and its far-reaching results to the State and the Nation, he truly says: "This convention thoroughly organized the Republican party of Illinois." While this embraces much matter of interest, it relates to a later period than that intended to be treated in this article, of which, however, it was the final consummation.

in the rotunda of the old State House, and addressed his audience within the grounds now occupied by the new State Capitol—proving the occasion on which these grounds were dedicated to free speech, and first occupied by the Republican party to whose custody, under a sort of preemption right, they have been entrusted by the people of Illinois almost continuously for nearly half a century.

I find a copy of the call for the proposed convention to be held during the State Fair at Springfield in 1854, to which allusion has already been made, printed in the "Free West," of Chicago, of the date of September 7, 1854, which read as follows:

STATE MASS CONVENTION.

"A Convention of all the citizens of the State of Illinois opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and to further extension and consolidation of the slave power, and in favor of the overthrow of the existing State and National Administrations which are pledged to the support of slavery, will be held on the 5th day of October, A. D. 1854, at 2 o'clock, at Springfield, for the organization of a party which shall put the Government upon a Republican tack, and to secure to non-slaveholders throughout the Union their just and constitutional weight and influence in the councils of the Nation.

"Papers throughout the State please copy."

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the "Free West" was a weekly paper of pronounced anti-slavery views, printed in Chicago and then edited by Zebina Eastman, afterwards American Consul at Bristol, England, by appointment of President Lincoln. The same paper, in an editorial paragraph a few days later, referred to this meeting as "the Republican State Convention." The call, as published in the "Free West," is substantially correct, except that the date finally chosen for the meeting of the convention was October 4—the second day of the Fair—although its principal business was transacted on the 5th.

In the absence of any file of a newspaper which then supported the movement, it is impossible to obtain access to a contemporaneous report of the convention. That which comes nearest meeting this demand I find in the columns of the "Chicago Daily Democrat" (a paper opposed to the movement in 1854, but which, two years later, was in hearty accord with it), printed in its issue of November 2, 1860, four days before the first election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. This article, which bears internal evidence of having been written by some one who was present and took part in the Springfield Convention, appears under the title, "History of the Early Organization of the Republican Party," and is alluded to in an editorial paragraph in another part of the same issue, as relating "the circumstances attending the birth of the Republican party." Its essential portions are quoted as follows:

(From the Chicago Daily Democrat, November 2, 1860.)

HISTORY OF THE EARLY ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"The first Republican State Convention in Illinois was called to meet at Springfield on the 4th day of October, 1854. The State Fair was in session at that time in Springfield, and it was thought to be a good time to make the first move for a State Republican organization. The call for the convention stated that it would be held at the State House. When the delegates arrived

in Springfield they found that so timid were the people there, that they had not obtained the use of the State House for the Convention, nor had any local notice been given of its assembling. However, at the time and place designated, the delegates came together." [Among those present, as stated by the Democrat, were Owen Lovejoy, Ichabod Codding, A. G. Throop, John F. Farnsworth, Tuthill King and a few others.] "After consultation it was decided to adjourn until the next day, and to get out some hand-bills announcing the fact. So afraid were the newspapers of Springfield of committing themselves to this 'abolition movement,' that they would not notice the fact, and would not print any hand-bills for us. The writer of these lines was obliged to set up the hand-bills and print it himself in a job office. The next day the Convention again met. The attendance was larger and an organization was effected. Tuthill King called the Convention to order—A. G. Throop was elected Chairman and C. C. Flint, Secretary. The following Committee was appointed to draft resolutions and suggest the name of a candidate for State Treasurer: N. C. Geer, of Lake County; Joseph T. Morse, of Woodford; Erastus Wright, of Sangamon; Dr. H. K. Jones, of Morgan; Bronson Murray, of LaSalle; S. M. Coe, of Whiteside; T. B. Hurlbut, of Madison; William Butler, of Lee; Jesse Penrose, of Whiteside; Dr. Henry Wing, of Madison.

"During the absence of this Committee, the Convention was addressed by Mr. Codding, Mr. Lovejoy and others. The following extract from one of the speeches will show the spirit of the Convention:

" 'This Convention is not large—owing to the unfavorable circumstances already mentioned and the persevering efforts of our opponents to prevent us from obtaining a place of meeting; but it is the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and it will fill the whole earth. Let us trust in God and God's truth. He is for us; who can be against us? His truth is what we are contending for, and victory will crown our efforts.'

"Mr. Brown, of Alton, also addressed the Convention. He attacked the Whig party of the State, who were ready for a compromise, and said: 'I can consent to no compromise with anything so abhorrent as slavery. I am for no compromise with slavery in any shape.'

The Convention at this point took a recess for the purpose of hearing the Hon. Abraham Lincoln make a speech in reply to Judge Douglas. This speech was one of the noblest efforts of Mr. Lincoln's life, and advocated the truest and boldest anti-slavery doctrine.

"Upon reassembling, the Convention adopted the report of the Committee, one of the resolutions of which we copy as a specimen of the whole:

" '*Resolved*, that, as Freedom is National and Slavery Sectional and Local, the absence of all law upon the subject of Slavery presumes the existence of a state of Freedom *alone*.'

"Hon. Owen Lovejoy nominated John E. McClun, of McLean county as the candidate for State Treasurer. Ichabod Codding seconded the nomination, and it was made unanimous.

" The following State Central Committee was then appointed and the Convention adjourned:

" David J. Baker, of Madison; Major N. D. Coy, of Knox; N. C. Geer, of Lake; A. G. Throop, of Cook; Judge E. S. Leland, of LaSalle; M. L. Dunlap, of Cook, Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Sangamon; H. M. Sheets, of Stephenson; Z. Eastman, of Cook; John F. Farnsworth, of Kane; J. B. Fairbanks, of Morgan; Ichabod Codding, of Chicago.

" Such was the birth of the Republican party of Illinois. Such were the men who set the ball in motion which is now rolling forward with irresistible force. Almost without exception they are men who loved liberty for itself and not for office They were the founders, and they have been the pioneers and fighting men of the party. They have fought its battles, won its victories, and have brought it to the threshold of a great triumph. And, now, when they demand that principle shall not be sacrificed to a mistaken expediency—when they insist that the doctrines that gave life and strength to the Republican party in its infancy shall be maintained inviolate—they are denounced, and abused and stigmatized by the hangers-on of the organization, as insane radicals, and as men wanting to hurt the party."

This statement is substantially correct, except that a temporary organization was effected on the evening of the 4th and a Committee on Resolutions appointed, who met in the office of Erastus Wright, the same evening, and reported their platform the next morning. This platform will be found immediately following this paper, and is here published as a part of the history of that period, and for the purpose of proving the actual position of those taking part in the convention. (See Appendix B, pp. 282-283.)

As was the custom of the Democratic press and speakers of the time, the leaders in this movement were assailed with the most vituperative epithets of which the English language was capable, the most common title given to the new party being "Abolitionists," "Black Republicans," and "Negro worshipers," though others of a much viler character were often used. Of the two papers then published in Springfield, neither gave an accurate report of the Convention, the "State Journal," which still adhered to the Whig party disposing of the subject in a paragraph of two or three lines, while the "State Register," the Democratic organ, eleven days later, printed a series of resolutions of a radical character,—among other things demanding the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—as the platform adopted on the 5th of October. These resolutions (to which reference has already been made), Senator Douglas quoted in his first debate with Lincoln at Ottawa, as having been adopted by "the first mass State Convention ever held in Illinois by the Black Republican party," and charged Lincoln with not only being in full sympathy with its platform, but with having assisted to make it—in other words, that he was pledged to a policy of absolute abolitionism. At the next debate, held at Freeport, a week later, the true history of the resolutions quoted at Ottawa was brought out, showing that they had not been adopted at Springfield, and Douglas was placed in the humiliating predicament of being compelled to acknowledge that he had been misled by his own organ. The fact was, that the platform actually adopted at Springfield contained no sentiment more radical than that of opposition to the further extension of slavery, and made no declaration in favor of repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or of interference with the institution where it already existed under the Constitution. While affirming that slavery could exist only by virtue of positive law, the Springfield resolutions not only expressed the most friendly and fraternal feeling toward the people of the South, and conceded to them "all the rights on our soil included in the sacred compact of the Constitution," but also declared—

"That we recognize no antagonism of national interests between us and the citizens of the Southern States, nor do we entertain any feelings of hostility toward them; but we recognize them as kindred and brethren of the same national family, having a common origin and, we hope, a common and glorious destiny."

Could recognition of rights under the constitution and disavowal of sectional hostility have gone further?

In saying that "some serious errors have crept into what purports to be the history of this period," I do not refer to those of a mere partisan character. While the authors of our State histories, in some

instances at least, have, no doubt, unintentionally on their own part been led into these errors by partisan misstatements, the fact that they have professed to deal in "true history" makes their errors all the more serious and deserving of correction. I know of no more conspicuous example of this sort than is to be found in a volume under the pretentious title of "The True Abraham Lincoln," in which the author—Mr. William Eleroy Curtis—in discussing events connected with Mr. Lincoln's political career during the year 1854 (page 147), says:

"He" (Lincoln) "was still further embarrassed by the unauthorized and impertinent act of a small group of Abolitionists who met in Springfield before the session of the Legislature, passed resolutions indorsing Lincoln as their candidate for the Senate and, without consulting him, appointed him a member of their State Central Committee. There were only twenty-six in the assembly—earnest, eager men, and radical in their views—and, although Lincoln's policy of recognizing the constitutional authority for slavery was well known to them, they admired his ability and the able fight he was making against the extension of the system in the Territories. He was not aware that his name appeared in the list of the abolitionist committee until several weeks after the convention had adjourned. In fact, very little notice was taken of its meeting, and its action was discovered by the Democrats before it was known to the Whigs. Lincoln immediately wrote a letter declining to serve, and saying that he was perplexed to understand why his name was used, because he supposed that his position on the slavery question was not at all satisfactory to their party." [1]

While the word "Abolitionist" no longer carries with it the opprobrium once attached to it in the estimation of a large class of the American people, its meaning—whether of obloquy or honor—is to be judged by the spirit and intent of the person using it. In the light of this principle it seems to have been Mr. Curtis's object to reflect upon the political sentiments of the members of the convention of 1854, as well as upon their methods. The real question is, was the convention, as a whole, composed of a "small group of Abolitionists," and were they guilty of an "unauthorized and impertinent act," justifying the rebuke which our author assumes to administer? As to the first, it is but just to judge of the convention by its utterance in the platform adopted—which, as shown by the quotations already presented, was of the most conservative character—but of this Mr. Curtis takes no account and probably knew nothing. As a matter of fact, and from personal knowledge, I feel justified in saying that a large proportion of the members—I believe a majority—were as conservative in reference to their policy for checking the spread of slavery as was Mr. Lincoln himself.

1. The conjecture elsewhere expressed as to the partisan origin of the estimate accepted by Mr. Curtis in reference to the number of those present and participating in the deliberations of the convention is supported, if not actually confirmed, by an editorial paragraph printed in the Illinois State Register of October 6th—the day after the adjournment of the convention. Under the title, "The Black Republican Fizzle," that paper says: "The convention of the universal fusion party was holden at the State House yesterday, in pursuance of long and widely spread notice. Twenty-six men and one boy constituted the 'Black Republican' concern." This appeared just five days before the publication by the same paper of the fraudulent series of resolutions referred to, and taking the two together, with the attempted witticism in making mention of "a boy" as one of those assisting to make up the assemblage, indicates clearly enough the purpose to belittle the convention without regard to facts, as well as to misrepresent its position. The only wonder is that such statements should be accepted by those professing to deal with actual facts as true history.

Other writers, following the same lead as Mr. Curtis, have spoken of the convention in depreciatory terms, evidently with a view to belittling its action. With but one exception, however, they have spoken without personal knowledge, taking their cue from the prejudiced misstatements of a partisan press, the result of which was to lead Douglas into the blunder of charging upon Lincoln and the convention responsibility for a set of radical resolutions which never passed that body. Davidson & Stuve and Moses, in their respective histories, err as to the date of the convention, naming October 3d instead of the 4th, as the day of meeting. For the reason already mentioned, of the prejudiced sources from which they draw their information, they agree as to the general composition of the convention, the one speaking of it as "a small anti-Nebraska, or fusion, mass convention, which assumed the name Republican," while the other describes it as "managed" by "extremists . . . —known not only as opposed to slavery but as Abolitionists." It has remained for Mr. Curtis, however, to go several degrees further and, while adopting one of the most opprobrious political epithets of the time, to charge the convention with the commission of an "unauthorized and impertinent act" in indorsing Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, and "without consulting him," appointing him "a member of their State Central Committee." It only needs that this self-appointed guardian of the fame of the "True Abraham Lincoln" should have added to his outburst a few such epithets as "Black Republican," "Negro-Worshiper" or "Miscegenationist," to make it read like a belated echo from one of the most vituperative harangues of some champion of slavery fifty years ago.

The only writer who absolutely agrees with Mr. Curtis, and from whom the latter, no doubt, has drawn a large share of his inspiration, is the late William H. Herndon, who, in his Life of Lincoln, while avowing himself an "Abolitionist" and "thoroughly inoculated" "with the virus" of that doctrine, and while claiming to have "been in conference all the day" with the men composing the convention, whom he describes as "Abolitionists," also claims to have acted as the special guardian of Mr. Lincoln and, by inducing him to leave town "under pretense of having business in Tazewell County," to have protected him from being contaminated by contact with the convention. In this Herndon simply seems to have made the common mistake of judging others by himself—and that, too, as will be shown later on, without reason or justification. However honest his motives and devoted his friendship to Lincoln, it has been shown that he fell into a number of grave errors in regard to the life of Lincoln, which gave that noble patriot's most intimate friends much annoyance; and, if he could err in reference to a man whom he was accustomed to meet daily on the plane of a business partner, how much more would he be likely to err in assuming to represent the opinions of others, most of whom he met—if at all—only on this occasion.

Herndon furnishes no estimate of the numbers in attendance on the convention, though he does speak of himself and "many others" as having "helped to swell the throng"—which scarcely agrees with

Curtis' estimate, taken from historians already quoted. Undoubtedly the fact that the debate in progress between Douglas and his supporters, on one side, and Lincoln and Trumbull, on the other, monopolized a large share of the public interest, tended to lessen the attendance, yet there is reason to believe that the estimate of "only twenty-six," may have been based upon the attendance on the first day's meeting, and not on that of the second day. The late Judge Mark Bangs of Chicago, who was a delegate from Marshall county, and Bronson Murray, a delegate from LaSalle county and a member of the Committee on Resolutions, have expressed to me the opinion that the figures given grossly underestimated the number in attendance on the day when the principal business of the convention was transacted.

It is true that Mr. Lincoln, on being formally notified by Codding, as Secretary of the proposed State Central Committee, of his appointment as one of its members, declined to serve, and, while declaring himself "perplexed some to understand why my (his) name was placed on that committe," added:

"I was not consulted on the subject, nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it two or three weeks afterward. I suppose my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any member of the Republican party; but I have also supposed that the extent to which I feel authorized to carry that opposition, practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party. The leading men who organized that party were present on the fourth of October at the discussion between Douglas and myself at Springfield, and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand *them?*

It is here worthy of note that Mr. Lincoln here recognized the Republican party as already in existence. If he was ignorant of his appointment on their State Central Committee—and we have his statement that he was—Mr. Herndon, who claims to have known everything that was going on in the convention, had failed to discharge his duty by informing him of the fact: It is true that many of the members of the convention—probably a majority—had been present at the discussion between Douglas and Lincoln. They understood Lincoln's position; and that they approved it was shown by their action on the second day. This was made all the more conspicuous by an incident occurring on the floor of the convention, of which I have a vivid recollection. When it came to the appointment of a State Central Committee, some one raised the question whether Lincoln was in harmony with the views of the convention, and I remember it was Owen Lovejoy who responded with an earnest indorsement of Lincoln's position on the slavery question—showing that the real attitude of the future emancipator of a race was understood, however much he may then have misunderstood the actual sentiments of the convention.

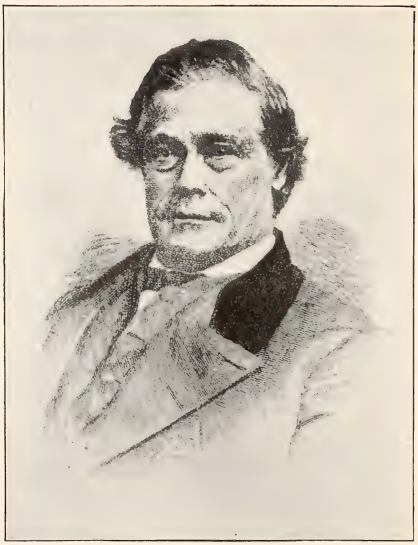
It is clear that Lincoln had not, at the time he responded to Codding's letter, read the resolutions actually adopted on the 5th of October. If he had, he would scarcely have said of the members of the convention, "Do I misunderstand them?"—that is, the position of the members of that convention. If he had read anything purporting to represent the views of the convention, it was the fraudulent

platform printed in a local Springfield paper, with which Douglas confronted him at Ottawa four years later; and it follows very naturally that he did "misunderstand" the real position of the convention. Two years later the Republican Convention at Bloomington, called with Lincoln's approval by the Editorial Convention at Decatur of February 22, 1856, adopted a platform giving utterance to the same principles as those enunciated at Springfield in 1854, and then the "True Abraham Lincoln" and the members of the Springfield Convention were in hearty accord, and neither had changed their attitude on the main issues in the smallest particular.

In his letter to Codding, Lincoln makes no reference to the "insult" (?) of his nomination to the United States Senate by the "Abolition" convention of 1854, nor did Douglas mention it during the debates of 1858, as he certainly would have done if such a thing had occurred. As I have no recollection of such action by the convention, and nothing of the sort appears in the resolutions adopted, I am inclined to believe Mr. Curtis's accusation on this subject one of his characteristic blunders—resulting, probably, from a misty recollection of the action to this effect by the convention of 1858, which called forth Lincoln's memorable "house-divided-against-itself speech" of June 16th of that year.

If the appointment of Lincoln as a member of that "Abolitionist Committee," as Curtis falsely, though ignorantly, perhaps, chooses to stigmatize it, was an "impertinent act," it is curious that we should find him, two years later, in conference with the Editorial Convention at Decatur approving a similar "impertinent act" in naming the committee which called the Republican State Convention held at Bloomington on the May following. Of eleven committeemen appointed at Decatur only two or three could have been consulted on the subject; yet we find the majority of them meekly "pocketing the insult" and joining in the call for the Bloomington Convention—the exceptions being W. B. Ogden of Chicago, who declined on account of business requiring his absence from the State; R. J. Oglesby, who left the State for a tour through Europe and the Holy Land, and Gustavus Koerner (then Lieutenant-Governor under the administration of Governor Matteson), who doubted whether the time was ripe for a new organization. Koerner was later found in co-operation with the new party, accepting office from President Lincoln, but finally drifted back into the ranks of the Democracy.

During the first year after the passage of the Nebraska Act Lincoln was engaged in a vigorous effort to induce the Whig party, as a body, to align itself in opposition to that measure. At that time Lovejoy was the bogy being held up to deter him from entering into any combination with those who had been stigmatized—rightfully or wrongfully—with the title of "Abolitionists." That his hope of an alignment by the Whig party had been dashed in pieces a few months later, is evident from the following extract from a letter to his friend, Joshua F. Speed, in August, 1855: "You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. . . . I now do no



OWEN LOVEJOY.

more than oppose the extension of slavery." It is evident from this that he had not only begun to realize that his scheme was a failure, but was considering the policy of a union with members of both the old parties who might agree with him on this issue—a position which was identical with that of the convention of October, 1854, and foreshadowed what took place at Bloomington in May, 1856, when he and Owen Lovejoy thrilled the same audience by their eloquence from the same platform, in support of the same principles and the same ticket, which was triumphantly elected in November.

During Lincoln's discharge of his perplexing duties in the Presidential chair, he had no more loyal and faithful supporter of his policy than was Owen Lovejoy. It was the consciousness of this fact, which, after the anti-slavery champion's untimely death in 1864, called forth from the soon-to-be martyred President, this tribute to his memory:

"Throughout my heavy and perplexing responsibilities here, to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say, he was my most generous friend. Let him have the marble monument along with the well assured and most endearing one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men."

That I am not alone in my estimate of the errors which Mr. Curtis has allowed to creep into his story of the so-called "True Abraham Lincoln," I think I have already shown by quotations from, and references to, the statements of others who took part in the first attempt to organize the Republican party at Springfield in October, 1854. I am in a position to present more direct testimony from one of these —Mr. Bronson Murray, widely known throughout the State as Secretary of the State Agricultural Society for many years, as well as one of the influential factors in the movement which resulted in the founding of a system of industrial colleges in all the States, including the University of Illinois. Mr. Murray, who was a delegate to the convention from LaSalle county, and a member of the Committee on Resolutions, according to my latest information, was still living at an advanced age in New York City, which has been his home for the past thirty years. In a letter addressed to me a few months ago, in commenting upon the extract I have quoted from Mr. Curtis' . . . book, Mr. Murray says:

"One may pass over the arrogance of an author who undertakes so to characterize the solemn deliberations and conclusions of 'earnest, eager men,' as he admits they were, and who were discharging their duty to the nation pursuant to a call for the men of all parties in the State of Illinois who were opposed to the 'Nebraska Bill' liable to extend slavery into those free Territories. But the falsification of history in stating that the convention was limited, in any sense, to a 'small group of Abolitionists,' is inexcusable in a work professedly truthful.

"I do not now remember, nor have I a copy of the resolutions passed at that convention; but I am very certain that that which, at that day would have been characterized as 'Abolitionism,' could not have received my signature or support. The Abolition party and its followers, of that day, were a distinct and well-known body of men who, without regard to consequences, advocated the interference with and abolition of slavery in all the States and Territories. This was a distinct and well-known fact of that time. That, in the heat of party strife, men should attempt to blacken the reputation of their opponents by fastening upon them opprobrious epithets, is a practice

confined to no special era . . . . But true history knows that the Convention of October 4th and 5th (1854) was called, composed and limited in its membership by no such lines as Mr. William Eleroy Curtis attempts to assign to it. It is, perhaps, very true that its numbers on the first day may not have exceeded Mr. Curtis's enumeration, but on the second day, when the resolutions were passed, the convention was a fair representation of the State."

No word of mine is needed to give additional emphasis to the deserved rebuke of an author who, without personal or accurate knowledge of the events which he attempts to describe, assumes to belittle the work and cast reproach upon patriotic men now passed away. At this late day, after the name of Lincoln had been immortalized through all the ages by his preservation of the Union and the destruction of slavery, it is a poor tribute to his memory to picture him as resenting the act of a body of men who, while honoring him with their confidence, simply anticipated him in recognition of the necessity for that party organization in which he joined with patriotic zeal and enthusiasm two years later, and which finally resulted in his elevation to the Presidency. Judged by his invincible logic, his sense of justice, his political sagacity and that unswerving integrity which characterized his acts in both public and private life, I risk nothing in saying that, were the "True Abraham Lincoln" alive today, no one would resent more indignantly than he, the assumption that the vindication of his honor and the perpetuation of his fame call for the censure and detraction of those who were his firmest supporters during the darkest hours in the Nation's history.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to argue that the organization of the Republican party in Illinois was consummated by the convention held in Springfield in October, 1854, or to depreciate or underestimate the work accomplished in the same direction at a later period. This work began with the movement to restrict the further extension of slavery, following and made necessary by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and its accomplishment was due to a process of gradual development of which the steps inaugurated in 1854 formed a conspicuous part, and the events of the next two years, leading up to the Bloomington Convention of 1856, marked the consummation. They were parts of a whole, as was the development of Abraham Lincoln's emancipation policy, foreshadowed unconsciously, but with impregnable logic, in his speech of June 16, 1858, when he uttered the declaration: "This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." This prediction brought upon Lincoln the charge of disunionism, just as the proposition to organize a new party on the basis of opposition to the extension of slavery brought upon the men of 1854 the charge of "abolitionism;" yet Lincoln lived not only to see his marvelous prophecy fulfilled within seven short years, but to become the chief factor in its accomplishment.

The part which, by your invitation, I have endeavored to perform here today, as one of the few surviving members of the convention of

1854, I have felt to be due no less to the memory of the True Abraham Lincoln than to that of the men who, unselfishly and uninfluenced by mere aspirations to office, took the first steps to organize the Republican party in Illinois.

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## APPENDIX A.

### Some of Mr. Curtis's Conspicuous Errors as They Appear in His "True Abraham Lincoln."

By way of illustration of Mr. Curtis's capacity for perpetrating surprising blunders when he undertakes to deal with matters of history with special accuracy, it is pertinent here to call attention to a number of examples of a character different from that already under discussion. Passing over numerous specimens of loose and faulty literary construction, which result in ambiguity of meaning or absolute violation of the rules of syntax, one of the most noteworthy of these examples appears on page 75, where, in relating an incident connected with Lincoln's career as a lawyer, and in connection with which Mr. Curtis has occasion to mention Judge David Davis, our author speaks of that early Whig and ardent personal and political friend of Lincoln, as "an intimate friend and fellow-Democrat" of Senator Douglas—the first half of the statement being as far from the truth as the last. On page 100, referring to the entrance of Douglas into Illinois politics, after his admission to the bar at twenty-one years of age, the "Little Giant" is spoken of as having come "to Springfield with no acquaintances and only thirty-seven cents in his pocket, to contest for the office of State's attorney with John J. Hardin," while a few pages farther on (page 134), in commenting upon Lincoln's first term in the Legislature, it is said that, "*in this* and future sessions of the Legislature, he (Lincoln) sat beside Stephen A. Douglas, . . . Edward D. Baker, . . . Oliver (Orville) H. Browning, . . . John A. McClernand, . . . John Logan, the father of the late General John A. Logan, Robert M. (Richard N.) Cullom." etc. The fact in regard to the first incident is, that Douglas came first to Jacksonville with the reputed "thirty-seven cents in his pocket," in 1833, then went to Winchester where he taught school and studied law, and, two years later made his successful campaign—not "at Springfield" but at Vandalia—for the State's attorneyship for Morgan county, and no doubt before his arrival in Springfield on the occasion referred to, had spent that historic "thirty-seven cents" many times over. As to the piece of legislative history, Lincoln did not sit "beside Stephen A. Douglas," nor any of the other gentlemen named during his first term in the General Assembly, though all were members of the House at the next session, except Browning, who was in the Senate.

Again, on page 190, Montgomery Blair, Lincoln's first Postmaster-General, is confounded with his father (Francis P. Blair, Sr.), in commenting on the self-imposed mission of the latter to Richmond to confer with Jefferson Davis in reference to opening negotiations for peace. Other blunders include the mention of Montgomery Blair as having been appointed Solicitor of the Court of Claims by President Buchanan (page 187), whereas the appointment was made in 1855 by Franklin Pierce; the substitution of the name Seward for Chase, as shown by the context, on page 207; the fixing of the date of Lincoln's first "public avowal of his views on the subject of slavery in his protest against a series of pro-slavery resolutions adopted by the Illinois Legislature, as belonging to the year 1838, and incidentally mentioning "the tragic death of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy" as having occurred "a few months after"—both of these events having occurred in 1837. The naming (page 393), on the alleged authority of Secretary of the Navy Welles, of September 22, 1862, as the date on which Lincoln submitted his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation to his Cabinet—whereas the real date, as shown by Welles' article in the Galaxy

Magazine of December 1872, was September 20th, the proclamation receiving Lincoln's signature on the 22nd—illustrates the author's capacity for perpetrating blunders when he attempts to be exact.

There are numerous other errors scarcely worth mentioning in this connection, but probably none more ludicrous in the whole batch than the attempt of the author, after quoting Lincoln's description of himself as "only a mast-fed lawyer," to enlighten his readers by defining "Mast" as "a kind of food composed of acorns, grass and similar natural substances, which was commonly given to cattle and hogs in Indiana and other frontier States, when he was a boy"—a definition which would have made Noah Webster gasp with astonishment that his dictionary should have been in the hands of the American nation for generations with so little effect upon one of its most pretentious and self-sufficient authors. Lincoln, in his greenest days, would scarcely have made the mistake of thus mixing "grass and similar natural substances" with "the fruit of the oak, beech and other forest trees," under the general definition of "mast," nor would he have thought it necessary to "give" them "to cattle and hogs," when the animals for which nature intended them, were able to help themselves.

In the face of blunders such as these in connection with well known facts of history, is it to be wondered at that we should be confronted with even more vital errors concerning matters about which the writer knew nothing personally, and in reference to which he has merely adopted the mistakes of others who, without personal knowledge of the events which they attempted to describe, allowed themselves to be misled by the prejudiced and malevolent misstatements of a partisan press in a time of intense political agitation and sectional antagonism?

## APPENDIX B.

### Republican Platform of 1854.

The following is the platform adopted at a meeting of opponents of the Nebraska bill held at Springfield, Ill., October 4th and 5th, 1854:

Whereas, The present Congress by a majority of the members elected to the house, has deliberately and wantomly re-opened the controversy respecting the extension of slavery under our national jurisdiction, which a majority of the people has understood to be closed forever by the successive compromises of 1820 and 1850; and

Whereas, This Congress, aided and impelled by the Federal Executive, has by the act currently known as the Nebraska bill, designedly subverted so much of the compact, commonly termed the Missouri Compromise, as excluded slavery from that vast region of our continent stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from the parellel of 36 degrees 30 minutes to the northern boundary of our Union, the State of Missouri alone excepted; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the State of Illinois affirms and maintains the right and the duty of the General Government to prohibit and preclude the extension, establishment or perpetuation of human slavery in any and every territory of the United States, and in any territory, possession and country over which this country now has, or may hereafter acquire, exclusive jurisdiction.

*Resolved*, That the doctrine affirmed by the Nebraska bill, and gilded over by its advocates with the specious phrases of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, is really and clearly a complete surrender of all the ground hitherto asserted and maintained by the Federal Government, with respect to the limitation of slavery, is a plain confession of the right of the slave holder to transfer his human chattels to any part of the public domain, and there hold them as slaves as long as inclination or interest may dictate; that this is an attempt totally to reverse the doctrine, hitherto uniformly held by statesmen and jurists, that slavery is the creature of local and state law, and to make it a national institution.

*Resolved*, That, as freedom is national and slavery sectional and local, the absence of all law upon the subject of slavery presumes the existence of a state of freedom alone, while slavery existed only by virtue of positive law.

*Resolved*, That slavery can exist in a territory only by usurpation and in violation of law, and we believe that Congress has the right and should prohibit its extension into such territory, so long as it remains under the guardianship of the General Government

*Resolved*, That we willingly concede to neighboring States all the legal rights on our soil included in the sacred compact of the Constitution, but we regard the trial by jury and the writ of habeas corpus as safeguards of personal liberty so necessary that no interests of any citizen of our own State ever are, or can be, permitted to suspend them; and, therefore no citizen of other States can fairly ask us to consent to their abrogation.

*Resolved*, That we recognize no antagonism of national interest between us and the citizens of the Southern States, nor do we entertain any feeling of hostility toward them, but we recognize them as kindred and brethren of the same national family, having a common origin, and we hope a common and glorious destiny.

*Resolved*, That, in that fraternal spirit, we call upon them to aid us in restoring the action of government to its primitive usage, under which we have so long enjoyed prosperity and peace, as the only guarantee of future harmony, and a certain, if not the only, means of perpetuation of the Union.

*Resolved*, That the river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of congress, in the execution of its constitutional power, to provide for the same.

*Resolved*, That we heartily approve the course of the freemen of Connecticut, Vermont, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, New York, Wisconsin, Michigan and Maine, postponing or disregarding their minor differences of opinion or preferences, and acting together cordially and trustingly in the same cause of freedom, of free labor and free soil, and we commend their spirit to the freemen of this and other States, exhorting each to renounce his party whenever and wherever that party proves unfaithful to human freedom.

## 7. GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EAST IN REGARD TO LINCOLN PRIOR TO NOVEMBER, 1860

(By Lucia A. Stevens.)

Lincoln's public life, up to the time of his election to the Presidency, may be roughly divided into four periods: First, the years of purely local influence, which resulted in his election to Congress in 1846; second, the term of congressional service and the succeeding years of preparation leading to the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858; third, the Lincoln-Douglas debates; and, fourth, the final epoch of activity and agitation which culminated in Lincoln's triumph in 1860.

For the first period practically nothing can be said concerning the "growth of public opinion in the east in regard to Lincoln," since, through those early years, Lincoln's reputation, although steadily increasing, was confined to his own State. He first became known to the east during the second period of his political life, the time of his service in Washington. We have many and varied opinions as to the extent and importance of his influence there. Arnold, in his "Life of Lincoln," states that "Lincoln took a more prominent part in debates than is usual for new members;" and the number of "remarks," "speeches," and so forth, recorded in his "complete works" would seem to justify the assertion.

The list is as follows:

December 22, 1847, "Resolution."
January 5, 1848, "Remarks."
January 12, 1848, "Speech."
January 19, 1848, "Report."
March 9, 1848, "Report."
March 9, 1848, "Report."
March 29, 1848, "Remarks."
May 11, 1848, "Remarks."
June 20, 1848, "Speech."
June 28, 1848, "Remarks."
July 27, 1848, "Speech."
January 16, 1849, "Bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."
February 13, 1849, "Remarks in the United States House of Representatives."

Several of Lincoln's letters also throw valuable light upon his speech-making in Congress. A week after the House met he sent the following letter to his partner:[1]

(December 13, 1847—Letter to William H. Herndon.)

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1847.

As you are all so anxious for me to distinguish myself, I have concluded to do so before long. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

1 Nicolay & Hay. Lincoln's "Complete Works," vol. I, p. 96.

In this half-jesting statement Lincoln evidently referred to the "Spot Resolutions" which he introduced soon afterwards. The two letters given below refer, respectively, to his first speech which, as he says, was on a postoffice question, and to a second more important one, which was based upon the "Spot Resolutions."

"As to speech-making, by way of getting the hang of the House, I made a little speech two or three days ago on the postoffice question of no general interest. I find speaking here and elsewhere about the same thing. I was about as badly scared, and no worse, as I am when I speak in court. I expect to make one within a week or two, in which I hope to succeed well enough to wish you to see it."

January 8, 1848—Letter to William H. Herndon.[1]

In a letter to Herndon, dated February 1, 1848, he says:[2]

"Before it reaches you, you will have seen and read my pamphlet speech, and perhaps been scared anew by it. After you get over your scare, read it over again, sentence by sentence, and tell me honestly what you think of it. I condensed all I could for fear of being cut off by the hour rule, and when I got through I had spoken but forty-five minutes.

Yours forever,

A. Lincoln."

The oblivion which overtook Lincoln's excellent speech, together with many other excellent speeches on the Mexican question, is ascribed by Nicolay and Hay to the Guadulupe Treaty which closed the debate, and blotted out all thought of the "causes and processes'[3] which led to the momentuous result." The most popular of Lincoln's speeches delivered in Congress, was probably the one on "Military Coat Tails," to which Ben. Perley Poore, a newspaper correspondent in Washington at the time, refers thus:

"Mr. Lincoln received hearty congratulations at the close, many Democrats joining the Whigs in their complimentary comments. The speech was pronounced by older members of the House almost equal to the celebrated defense of General Harrison by Tom Corwin, in reply to an attack made on him by a Mr. Crary of Ohio. The two speeches are equally characterized by vigorous argument, mirth-provoking irony and original wit. One democrat, however, . . . didn't enthuse at all. The fact that Mr. Lincoln strode up and down the aisle while delivering his speech, gave rise to the following joke:

'Sawyer,' asked an eastern representative, 'how did you like the lanky Illinoisian's speech? Very able, wasn't it?'

'Well', replied Sawyer, 'the speech was pretty good, but I hope he won't charge mileage on his travels while delivering it.'"

Lincoln's most important and significant congressional work however, was doubtless his "Bill for the Prohibition of Slavery in the District of Columbia." In regard to this bill Joshua Giddings, one of the leading abolitionists in Congress, says in his diary:

This evening (January 11) our whole mess remained in the dining room after tea, and conversed upon the subject of Mr. Lincoln's bill to abolish slavery. It was approved by all. I believe it as good a bill as we could get at this time, and am willing to pay for slaves in order to save them from the Southern market, as I suppose every man in the district would sell his slaves, if he saw that slavery was to be abolished.

1 Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln's "Complete Works." Vol. I, p. 99-100.
2 Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln's "Complete Works." Vol. I, p. 110-111.
3 "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," p. 221.
4 Quoted in Nicolay & Hay "*Abraham Lincoln—A History*," V. I, p. 266.

The bill was defeated, but in regard to the interest aroused on the question of prohibition of slavery in the District, Lincoln in his Peoria speech, 1854, made the following modest statement: "I personally know that this has not been left undone because it was unthought of. It was frequently spoken of by members of Congress and by citizens of Washington six years ago; and I heard no one express a doubt that a system of gradual emancipation, with compensation to owners, would meet the approbation of a large majority of the white people of the district."[1] While, as we have seen, this bill was approved by the Abolitionists in Congress, it later, because of its necessary clause enforcing the return of fugitive slaves, called down upon its author a stinging attack from Wendell Phillips.

Side by side with the records of Lincoln's work as a legislator, we must put the testimony of many men who were in Washington during this period of his career. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, Speaker of the House at that time, said, when writing, thirty-four years after: "I recall vividly the impressions I then formed, both of his ability and amiability. We were old Whigs together, and agreed entirely upon all questions of public interest. I could not always concur in the policy of the party which made him President, but I never lost my personal regard for him. For shrewdness and sagacity and keen, practical sense he had no superior in our day and generation."[2]

We also have from Mr. Winthrop's "Memoir" this further account of his relations with Mr. Lincoln: "For convenience he (Winthrop) kept lists of his guests, and the recurrence in them of names like Clay, Webster and Calhoun was a matter of course; but there is a single entry of a name destined in process of time to outshadow all the rest, that of the 'lone star of Illinois,' as he was sometimes called, he being then the only Whig in the delegation from that State. Mr. Winthrop was not one of those, if any there were, who discovered in Abraham Lincoln at that period the promise of exceptional fame; but he liked him personally, finding him shrewd and kindly, with an air of reserved force."[3]

Perhaps the most interesting testimony regarding Lincoln at this time is furnished by Ben Perley Poore, some of whose reminiscences have already been quoted. A number of boon companions were accustomed to meet in the postoffice and indulge in story-telling contests while waiting for the mail to be distributed. "After modestly standing at the door for several days," as Mr. Poore tells us, "Mr. Lincoln was 'reminded' of a story, and by New Year's he was recognized as the champion story-teller of the capital." Mr. Poore goes on to say: "It was refreshing to us correspondents, compelled as we were to listen to so much that was prosy and tedious, to hear this bright specimen of western genius tell his inimitable stories." Accordingly, as Mr. Poore testifies, "The election of Abraham Lincoln as President was very acceptable to the older Washington correspondents. They remembered him well in the 30th Congress, when he was the only Whig in the Illinois delegation, then but seven in number."

1. Nicolay & Hay, *Lincoln's Complete Works,*" V. I, p. 190.
2. "*The Lincoln Memorial Album,*" 165.
3. "*Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop,*" p. 81.

The account which Mr. Poore gives of the friendship between Mr. Lincoln and Daniel Webster is also interesting and suggestive of the "westerner's" standing among prominent eastern men of the day:[1]

"Daniel Webster, who was then in the Senate, used occasionally to have Mr. Lincoln at one of his pleasant Saturday breakfasts, where the western Congressman's humorous illustrations of the events of the day, sparkling with spontaneous and unpremeditated wit, would give great delight to the 'sated men of Boston' assembled around the festive board. At one time Mr. Lincoln had transacted some legal business for Mr. Webster connected with an embryo city laid out where Rock river empties into the Mississippi. * * * Mr. Lincoln had charged Mr. Webster for his legal services $10, which the great expounder of the Constitution regarded as too small a fee, and he would frequently declare that he was still Mr. Lincoln's debtor.

"With these pleasant recollections of Mr. Lincoln, it was not strange that the older correspondents at Washington were glad to learn that he had been elected President. * * * They remembered their genial, story-telling friend, and felt confident that he would be somewhat communicative about public affairs, which Buchanan was not."

Strangely enough, in the light of future events, we also have the words of Alexander H. Stephens, as to Lincoln's standing among his law-making associates:[2] "Mr. Lincoln was careful as to his manners, awkward in his speech, but was possessed of a very strong, clear and vigorous mind. He always attracted the riveted attention of the House when he spoke; his manner of speech as well as thought was original."

James G. Blaine, however, evidently believed that Lincoln was little known during his stay in Washington. In regard to the mention of Lincoln for the Vice-Presidency in 1856, Blaine says in his "Thirty Years of Congress," "William L. Dayton of New Jersey, who had served with distincton in the Senate, was selected for the Vice-Presidency. His principal competitor in the only ballot which was taken was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. This was the first time that Mr. Lincoln was conspicuously named outside of his own State. He had been a member of the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-49; but being a modest man he had so little forced himself into notice that when his name was proposed for Vice-President, inquiries as to who he was were heard from all parts of the convention."

Lastly, Mr. Lincoln himself, in a letter to his friend Joshua F. Speed, written February 20, 1849, gives his own modest opinion of his influence in Congress: "I am flattered to learn that Mr. Crittenden has any recollection of me which is not unfavorable; and for the manifestation of your kindness toward me I sincerely thank you. Still there is nothing about me to authorize me to think of a first-class office, and a second-class one would not compensate my being sneered at by others who want it for themselves. I believe that, so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office almost by common consent; but then Sweet and Don

1 "*Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*," pp. 222-23.

2 *Lincoln Memorial Album*, 241.

Morrison, and Browning and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I could easily take it myself, I fear I shall have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois. The reason is that Mr. McGaughey, an Indiana ex-member of Congress, is here after it, and being personally known, he will be hard to beat by anyone who is not."[1]

Mr. Lincoln finally decided to go after the position himself, but did so in a too dilatory and modest manner and the prize fell to Mr. Butterfield of Chicago. The Taylor administration later, by way of compensation, offered Lincoln the governorship of the new territory of Oregon, but this he refused.

After the close of his Congressional term, Mr. Lincoln made a speech-making tour of the New England States. Thurlow Weed, speaking of an occasion some time later. says in his autobiography: "I had supposed, until we now met, that I had never seen Mr. Lincoln, having forgotten that, in the fall of 1848, when he took the stump in New England he called upon me at Albany, and that we then went to see Mr. Fillmore, who was then the Whig candidate for Vice-President."[2]

The "New York Tribune," September 14, 1848, mentions Mr. Lincoln as addressing a great Whig meeting in Boston, September 12. The "Boston Atlas" refers to speeches made by him at Dorchester, September 16; at Chelsea, September 17; and by Lincoln and Seward at Boston, September 22, on which occasion, the report says: "Mr. Lincoln of Illinois, next came forward, and was received with great applause. He spoke about an hour and made a powerful and convincing speech, which was cheered to the echo."[3]

"The most brilliant of Mr. Lincoln's speeches in this campaign—according to Robert C. Winthrop Jr.'s recent memoir of the Hon. David Sears—was delivered at Worcester, September 13, 1848, when, after taking for his text Mr. Webster's remark that the nomination of Martin Van Buren for the Presidency by a professed anti-slavery party could fitly be regarded only as a trick or a joke, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to declare that of the three parties then asking the confidence of the country, the new one had less of principle than any other, adding, admid shouts of laughter, that the recently constructed elastic Free-Soil platform reminded him of nothing so much as the pair of trousers offered for sale by a Yankee peddler, which were 'large enough for any man and small enough for any boy.'"[4]

After his New England trip Mr. Lincoln returned home, there to build up a reputation, which was to pass the bounds of his own State, even before the famous "Debates." The facts and references here presented seem to show that Lincoln was more widely and popularly known in the East than is commonly supposed; and that during his Congressional life he at least laid a sure and broad foundation for his subsequent success.

1 Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln's *Complete Works*, I. 133.
2 *Autobiography*, I, 603.
3 Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*, I. 281.
4 Quoted in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*, I, p.

The years intervening before the third period of Lincoln's public life, the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, were years of preparation which fitted him for the crisis in which he was to play such a leading part. After some preliminary joint meetings, Lincoln and Douglas came together in 1858 in the great debate series. Lincoln, who had been called from his temporary retirement from political life by the re-opening of the slavery agitation, threw himself earnestly into the contest. It is safe to assert that, at that time, the East generally was not alive to the importance of the discussion. However, various contemporaries of Lincoln have recorded their impressions of him during this time, and he himself in some of his letters has furnished us clues as to how his candidacy for the United States Senatorship was regarded among eastern men. The following letters, one from Lincoln to Wilson, and the other from Greeley to Medill, show plainly the attitude of the great eastern editor:

"Springfield, June 1, 1858.[1]

Charles L. Wilson, Esq—.

My dear Sir:—Yours of yesterday, with the enclosed newspaper slip is received. I have never said or thought more, as to the inclination of some of our Eastern Republican friends to favor Douglas—than I expressed in your hearing on the evening of the 21st of April, at the State library in this place. I have believed—I do believe now—that Greeley, for instance, would be rather pleased to see Douglas re-elected over me or any other Republican; and yet I do not believe it is so because of any secret arrangement with Douglas: it is because he thinks Douglas's superior position, reputation, experience, ability if you please, would more than compensate for his lack of a pure Republican position, and therefore his re-election do the general cause of our Republicanism more good than would the election of any of our better undistinguished pure Republicans. I do not know how you estimate Greeley, but I consider him incapable of corruption or falsehood. He denies that he directly is taking part in favor of Douglas, and I believe him. Still his feeling constantly manifests itself in his paper, which, being so extensively read in Illinois, is, and will continue to be a drag upon us. I have also thought that Governor Seward, too, feels about as Greeley does, but not being a newspaper editor, his feeling in this respect is not much manifested. I have no idea that he is, by conversation or by letter, urging Illinois Republicans to vote for Douglas."

[2] In Greeley's letter of July 24 to Joseph Medill, he says:

"My Friend: You have taken your own course,—don't try to throw the blame on others. You have repelled Douglas, who might have been conciliated and attached to our own side, whatever he may now find it necessary to say or do, and instead of helping us in other States, you have thrown a load upon us that may probably break us down. You knew what was the almost unanimous desire of the Republicans of other States; and you spurned and insulted them. Now go ahead and fight it through. You are in for it, and it does no good to make up wry faces. What I have said in the 'Tribune' since the fight was resolved on, has been in good faith, intended to help you through. If Lincoln would fight up to the work also, you might get through—if he apologizes, and retreats, he is lost, and all others go down with him. His first Springfield speech (at the convention) was in the right key; his Chicago speech was bad; and I fear the new Springfield speech is worse. If he dare not stand on broad Republican ground, he cannot stand at all. That, however, is his business, he is no wise responsible for what I say. I shall stand on the broad, anti-slavery ground which I have occupied for years. I cannot change it to help your fight; and I should only damage you if I did. You have

1 Nicolay & Hay, Lincoln's *Complete Works*, I. 238.

2 Nicolay & Hay, Abraham Lincoln, a History. Vol. 2, pp. 140-141.

got your Elephant—you would have him—now shoulder him! He is not so very heavy, after all. As I seem to displease you equally when I try to keep you out of trouble, and when, having rushed in in spite of me, I try to help you in the struggle you have unwisely provoked, I must keep neutral so far as may be hereafter."

In his "American Conflicts," however, Greeley, looking back upon the situation, speaks some what more favorably: "They held a sort of State Convention, therefore, and presented Abraham Lincoln as a Republican competitor for Mr. Douglas's seat; and he opened the canvass at once, in a terse, forcible and thoroughly 'radical' speech, wherein he enunciated the then startling, if not absolutely novel, doctrine that the Union cannot permanently endure half Slave and half Free. * * * This almost prophetic statement, from one born in Kentucky, and who had been known, prior to the appearance of the Dred Scott decision, as a rather conservative Whig, was put forth more than four months before Governor Seward, as if under a like premonition of coming events, said: * * * "

On July 27, 1858, another editor, Ray of Chicago, wrote to Lincoln concerning the wide influence of his speeches, as follows:

1 "You are like Byron, who woke up one morning and found himself famous. People wish to know about you. You have sprung at once from the position of a capital fellow and a leading lawyer in Illinois, to a national reputation."

In the same connection, also, David Davis, shortly after the election, sent these words to Lincoln: "You have made a noble canvass, which, if unavailing in the State, has earned you a national reputation and made you friends everywhere."

On the return of Douglas to Washington, after the senatorial contest, he said to Henry Wilson, in reply to the question as to what he thought of Mr. Lincoln: "He is an able and honest man, one of the noblest men of the nation. I have been in Congress sixteen years, and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate."[2]

Despite the many favorable opinions concerning Lincoln, there was also much ignorance and prejudice. Edwin M. Stanton had held the Westerner in disdain since their joint connection with a law case which was tried in the United States Circuit Court in Cincinnati in 1857. Ben Perley Poore refers to Mr. Stanton as indulging in "tirades against Mr. Lincoln, saying on one occasion he 'had met him at the bar, and found him a low, cunning clown.' "[3]

In August, 1858, Theodore Parker wrote: "I look with great interest on the contest in your state, and read the speeches, the noble speeches, of Mr. Lincoln with enthusiasm." His sentiments, however, had evidently changed a few days later, when he wrote again as follows: "In the Ottawa meeting, to judge from the Tribune report, I thought Douglas had the best of it. He questioned Mr. Lincoln on the great matters of slavery, and put the most radical questions * * * before the people. Mr. Lincoln did not meet the issue. He made a technical evasion. * * * Daniel Webster stood on higher anti-slavery

1 Nicolay & Hay, Abraham Lincoln, a History. II, pp. 176-177.
2 Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 577.
3 *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 223.

ground than Abraham Lincoln now. Greeley's conduct I think is base. * * * He has no talent for a leader. If the Republicans sacrifice their principle for success, then they will not be lifted up, but blown up. I trust Lincoln will conquer. It is admirable education for the masses—this fight!"

The administration party was opposed to both sides of the controversy. As Rhodes says, its organ "thought the debates a 'novel and vicious procedure,' the campaign disgraced by 'indecencies and disreputable viturperation.' There was little choice between Lincoln and Douglas. Douglas was a renegade, Lincoln 'a shallow empiric, an ignorant pretender or a political knave,' and the two 'a pair of depraved, blustering, mischievous, low-down demagogues'."

But little original material could be found regarding the attitude of Eastern newspapers toward Lincoln just previous to, and during the period of the debates. Rhodes makes the following statement:[1] "The only notice I found in Eastern newspapers of Lincoln's efforts was in a letter from Springfield to the New York Times of October 13th, where the mention was briefly 'Lincoln made a most unanswerable speech against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise'."

An examination of the Liberator of the year 1858, revealed several severe criticisms of Douglas for his utterances on slavery during the "Debates," but no estimates of Lincoln, either favorable or unfavorable. The literary men of the East, however, have furnished additional information concerning Lincoln's standing there during this period. In Arnold's "Life of Lincoln" is quoted a letter which Longfellow wrote in reply to a sketch of Lincoln's Debates, sent to him a short time before his death. The letter which is dated at Cambridge, February 22, 1881, is as follows:

> I have read it (the sketch) with interest and pleasure, particularly that part of it which relates to Mr. Lincoln. I well remember the impression made upon me by his speeches in this famous political canvass of 1858, as reported in the papers at the time, and am glad to find it renewed and confirmed by your vivid sketches.[2]

Strangely enough, the "Life of Henry W. Longfellow," by Samuel Longfellow, contains only brief and slightly critical mention of Lincoln. A curious story is told by Edward Everett Hale.[3]

"One of Lowell's fellow professors told me this curious story, which will illustrate the narrowness of New England observation at that time. There appeared at Cambridge in the year 1859 a young gentleman named Robert Todd Lincoln, who has been already quoted, and is quite well known in this country and in England. This young man wished to enter Harvard College, and his father, one Abraham Lincoln, who has since been known in the larger world, had fortified him with a letter of introduction to Dr. Walker, the president of the college. This letter of introduction was given by one Stephen A. Douglas, who was a person also then quite well known in political life, and he presented the young man to Dr. Walker as being the son of his friend Abraham Lincoln, 'with whom I have lately been canvassing the State of Illinois.' When this letter, now so curious in

1. Rhodes' *History of the United States*, II 70; note 342,343.
2. Arnold, *Life of Lincoln*, 142.
3. E. Hale, *James Russell Lowell and His Friends*, 201.

history, was read, Lowell said to my friend who tells me the story, 'I suppose I am the only man in this room who has ever heard of this Abraham Lincoln, but he is the person with whom Douglas has been traveling up and down in Illinois, canvassing the State in their new western fashion, as representatives of the two parties, each of them being the candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate.' What is more, my friend says it is probably true that at the moment when this letter was presented by young Robert Lincoln, none of the faculty at Harvard College, excepting Lowell, had ever heard of Abraham Lincoln. This story is a good one, as showing how far it was in those days possible for a circle of intelligent men to know little or nothing of what was happening in the world beyond the sound of their college bell.

NOTE—This anecdote arrested attention when it was first published, and I received more than one note explaining to me that it could not be true. All the same it is true. And I took care to verify the dates of the several steps of the story.

Another account, which emphasizes the importance of the debates, showing how they influenced public opinion in the East, and finally led to Lincoln's nomination, is given by Jesse W. Fell:

"In the fall of 1858, during the discussion between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, I had occasion to visit the middle and eastern states; and as the whole country was then agitated by the slavery question and that discussion cut a prominent figure in the agitation, I was frequently applied to for information in reference to Mr. Lincoln. I felt my State pride flattered by these inquiries, and still more to find the New York Tribune, and other papers, publishing copious extracts from these discussions, taken from the Chicago press. I did what little I could to satisfy so laudable a curiosity, not thinking, at first, that anything further would come of this discussion in reference to Mr. Lincoln, than his election to the Senate. At length, from the frequency of these inquiries and public notices of the Illinois contest an impression began to form that by judicious efforts he could be made the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1860. Very soon after my return home and after the senatorial contest had closed, one evening, as I passed on the south side of the public square of this city, I espied the tall form of Mr. Lincoln emerging from the court house door, Judge Davis' court then being in session. I stopped until he came across the street, when, after the usual salutations, I asked him to go with me into my brother's (K. N. Fell) law office, then kept over what is now the Home bank. There we sat down and in the calm twilight of the evening, had substantially the following conversation:

Fell—'Lincoln, I have been east as far as Boston and up into New Hampshire, traveling in all the New England states, save Maine, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Indiana, and everywhere I hear you talked about. Very frequently I have been asked: 'Who is this man Lincoln of your State now canvassing in opposition to Senator Douglas?' Being, as you know, an ardent Republican and your friend I usually told them we had in Illinois two giants instead of one; that Douglas was the little one, as they all

knew, but that you were the big one, which they didn't all know. But seriously, Lincoln, Judge Douglas being so widely known you are getting a national reputation through him as the result of the late discussion; your speeches, in whole or in part, on both sides, have been pretty extensively published in the east; you are there regarded by discriminating minds as quite a match for him in debate, and the truth is, I have a decided impression that if your popular history and efforts on the slavery question can be sufficiently brought before the people, you can be made a formidable if not a successful candidate for the presidency.'

Lincoln—Oh, Fell, what's the use of talking of me for the presidency, whilst we have such men as Seward, Chase and others, who are so much better known to the people, and whose names are so intimately associated with the principles of the Republican party. Everybody knows them; nobody, scarcely, outside of Illinois, knows me. Besides, is it not, as a matter of justice, due to such men, who have carried this movement forward to its present status, in spite of fearful opposition, personal abuse, and hard names? I really think so.

Fell—There is much truth in what you say. The men you allude to, occupying more prominent positions, have undoubtedly rendered a larger service in the Republican cause than you have; but the truth is, they have rendered too much service to be available candidates. Placing it on the ground of personal services, or merits, if you please, I concede at once the superiority of their claims. Personal services and merits, however, when incompatible with the public good, must be laid aside. Seward and Chase have both made long records on the slavery question, and have said some very radical things which, however just and true in themselves, and however much these men may challenge our admiration for their courage and devotion to unpopular truths, would seriously damage them in the contest, if nominated. * * * Your discussion with Judge Douglas has demonstrated your ability and your devotion to freedom; you have no embarrassing record; you have sprung from the humble walks of life, sharing in its toils and trials; and if we can only get these facts sufficiently before the people, depend upon it, there is some chance for you. And now, Mr. Lincoln, I come to the business part of this interview. My native state, Pennsylvania, will have a large number of votes to cast for somebody on the question we have been discussing. Pennsylvania don't like, over much, New York and her politicians. She has a candidate, Cameron, of her own, but he will not be acceptable to a larger part of her own people, much less abroad, and will be dropped. Through an eminent jurist and essayist of my native county in Pennsylvania, favorably known throughout the state, I want to get up a well considered, well written newspaper article telling the people who you are and what you have done, that it may be circulated, not only in that state, but elsewhere, and thus help in manufacturing sentiment in your favor.

Lincoln—Fell, I admit the force of much that you say, and admit that I am ambitious, and would like to be President. I am not insensible to the compliment you pay me, and the interest you manifest in

the matter; but there is no such good luck in store for me as the presidency of these United States; besides there is nothing in my early history that would interest you or anybody else; and, as Judge Davis says, "It won't pay." Good night.

And thus ended, for the time being, my pet scheme of helping to make Lincoln President. I notified him, however, as his giant form, wrapped in a dilapidated shawl, disappeared in the darkness, that this was not the last of it; that the facts must come."

Such is the original material gathered concerning the standing of Lincoln in the East during the period of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and up to the time of the Cooper Institute address. From so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to sift the truth. It will be noticed, however, that it is those statements written with the backward glance, that speak most favorably of Lincoln's influence and popularity. This would lead us to infer that some of the chroniclers were not as true and accurate prophets as they would have us believe, and that Lincoln, while of interest to politicians as a piece on the board whose exact value was not known, was not recognized and appreciated to any marked degree by the great mass of eastern people.

The last period treated in the discussion of the "Growth of Public Opinion in the East in Regard to Lincoln" extends from the time of the debates to the election in 1860. It is not felt that this last, broadest field has been covered as thoroughly as the preceding ones, but the main lines of the development of public sentiment toward the "Great Westerner" will be shown. To record all of the notices of Lincoln during this period when, for the first time, he was brought fully before the public gaze, would require a small volume. As in the development of the previous epochs, the material has been drawn from statements of Lincoln himself, from opinions of contemporary statesmen and writers, and from newspapers of the time.

In 1859 Lincoln wrote to Schuyler Colfax—afterwards Vice-President of the United States—giving general advice on the political situation, and Colfax replied: [1]"How this mass of mind shall be consolidated into a victorious phalanx in 1860 is the great problem, I think, of our eventful times. And he who could accomplish it is worthier of fame than Napoleon or Victor Emmanuel. * * * In this work, to achieve success, and to achieve it without sacrifice of essential principle, you can do far more than one like myself, so much younger. Your counsel carries great weight with it; for, to be plain, there is no political letter that falls from your pen which is not copied throughout the Union."

Another incident soon occurred which was to establish Lincoln's leadership still more widely and thoroughly. In January, 1860, he received the following invitation: "The Young Men's Central Republican Union of this city [New York] very earnestly desire that you should deliver what I may term a political lecture during the ensuing month. The peculiarities of the case are these: a series of lectures has been determined upon. The first was delivered by Mr. Blair of

1 Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*, II. 180-82.

St. Louis, a short time ago; the second will be in a few days by Mr. Cassius M. Clay, and the third we would prefer to have from you rather than any other person." [1]

Lincoln was pleased to accept this flattering invitation, and prepared his speech, since known as "The Cooper Union Address," most carefully. The following accounts of the speech and its reception are taken from "The New York Times." [2]

"The announcement that Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, would deliver an address in Cooper Institute last evening, drew thither a large and enthusiastic assemblage. Soon after the appointed hour for commencing the proceedings, David Dudley Field, Esq., arose and nominated as chairman of the meeting Mr. William Cullen Bryant. The nomination was received with prolonged applause, and was unanimously approved. Mr. Bryant, after the applause had subsided, said: 'It is a grateful office that I perform in introducing to you at this time an eminent citizen of the West, whom you know—whom you have known hitherto—only by fame, and who has consented to address a New York assemblage this evening. * * * These children of the West, my friends, form a living bulwark against the advance of slavery, and from them is recruited the vanguard of the armies of liberty. One of them will appear before you this evening in person—a gallant soldier of the political campaign of 1856—who then rendered good service to the Republican cause, and who has been since the great champion of that cause in the struggle which took place two years later for the supremacy of the Republicans in the Legislature of Illinois; who took the field against Senator Douglas, and would have won in the conflict but for the unjust provisions of the law of the State, which allowed a minority of the people to elect a majority of the Legislature. I have only, my friends, to pronounce the name of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois—I have only to pronounce his name to secure your profound attention.'

"Mr. Lincoln advanced to the desk, and smiling graciously upon his audience, complacently awaited the termination of the cheering and then proceeded with his address as follows: * * * * * * * * * When Mr. Lincoln had concluded his address, during the delivery of which he was frequently applauded, three rousing cheers were given for the orator and the sentiments to which he had given utterance."

Farther notice of Lincoln's effort is given in an editorial of the same issue of the Times:

"There was a very large meeting of Republicans at Cooper Institute last evening to listen to that noted political exhorter and prairie orator, Abe Lincoln of Illinois. * * * * The speaker, as soon as he appeared upon the platform, was vehemently cheered, and during the delivery of his address frequently applauded * * * * *."

Greeley, who in his senatorial contest had been opposed to Lincoln, also commented most favorably upon this speech, in the Tribune as follows:

"Since the days of Clay and Webster, no man has spoken to a larger assemblage of the intellect and mental culture of our city."

Again he says:

"Mr. Lincoln is one of nature's orators, using his rare powers solely to elucidate and convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well. We present herewith a very full and accurate report of this

1 Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*, II. 216.
2 *The New York Times*, February 28, 1860.

speech, yet the tones, the gestures, the kindling eye, and the mirth-provoking look defy the reporter's skill. The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."

Greeley also gave even more enthusiastic praise, when writing some years later of the occassion: "I do not hesitate to pronounce it the very best political address to which I ever listened—and I have heard some of Webster's grandest."[1]

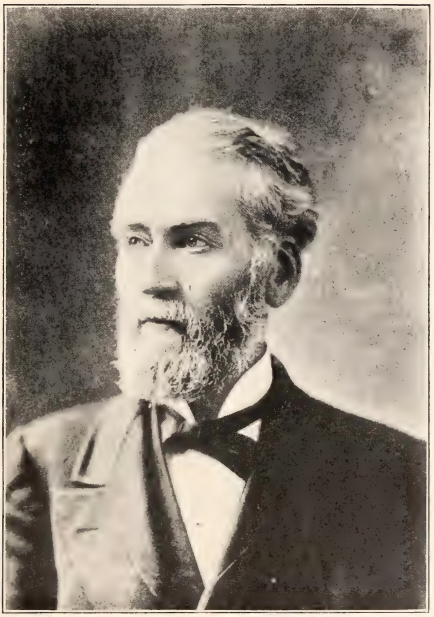
From New York, Lincoln went to New England, where he lectured in many cities. The Manchester Mirror paid the following high tribute to him: "He did not abuse the South, the Administration or the Democrats. He is far from prepossessing in personal appearance, and his voice is disagreeable, yet he wins your attention and good will from the start. His sense of the ludicrous is very keen, and an exhibition of that is the clincher of all his arguments—not the ludicrous acts of persons, but ludicrous ideas. Hence, he is never offensive and steals away willingly into his train of belief, persons who were opposed to him. For the first half hour his opponents would agree with every word he uttered, and from that point he began to lead them off, little by little, until it seemed as if he had got them all into his fold.[2]

It was during this Eastern trip that Salmon P. Chase received these words from his lieutenant, Briggs: "Mr. Lincoln of Illinois told me that [he] had a very warm side towards you, for of all the prominent Republicans you were the only one who gave him aid and comfort. I urged him by all means to attend the convention. I was pleased with him, I paid him all the attention I could, went with him to hear Mr. Beecher and Dr. Chapin. Mr. Barney went with him to the "House of Industry" at the Five Points, and then took him home to tea. He was very much pleased with Mr. Barney." That Lincoln, through a fortunate combination of circumstances was himself soon to receive the Republican nomination for the Presidency, was doubtless far from the thoughts of Chase and his lieutenant, as it was from the minds of most men of that time.

From the following letter written by Joseph Medill to Frederick Bancroft, February 18, 1896,[3] we have a revelation of Seward's feeling toward Lincoln at this time: "I believe that Lincoln—a Kentuckian by birth, could carry all of them [the doubtful states] in addition to the states which cast their electoral votes for Fremont, and that would suffice to elect him. Feeling in this way about it, I wrote to the Chicago Tribune, in the latter part of February, 1860, as strong an editorial letter as I was capable of, showing that Lincoln could be elected that year and that Seward could not.

"The article irritated Seward when he read it, and he took occasion to see me immediately thereafter and 'blew me up' tremendously for having disappointed him—'gone back on him'—and preferring that

1. Century Magazine, July, 1891.
2. Chas. Godfrey Leland, *Abraham Lincoln and the Abolition of Slavery in the United States*, p. 80.
3. Bancroft, *William H. Seward*, I, 530.



JOSEPH MEDILL,
Editor of the Chicago Tribune.

'prairie statesman,' as he called Lincoln. He gave me to understand that he was the chief teacher of the principles of the Republican party before Lincoln was known other than as a country lawyer of Illinois."

The New York Times supported Mr. Seward, and yet realized what the difficulties of the situation might demand, as is shown by the following significant editorial items appearing at intervals up through the time of the convention:

"March 16, 1860—Mr. Seward is the natural candidate of the Republican party, and if that party feels strong enough in convention to elect him, he will, beyond all question, be its nominee. April 21, 1860—If Mr. Douglas should be the Democratic nominee it would not be so safe for the Republicans to trust to their unaided strength, and Mr. Seward would doubtless be set aside for some more available man. May 15, 1860—Illinois alone works hard for Lincoln. May 19, 1860—The work of the convention is ended. The youngster, who, with ragged trousers, used barefoot to drive his father's oxen and spend his days in splitting rails, has risen to high eminence, and Abram Lincoln, of Illinois, is declared its candidate for President by the National Republican party. Great inquiry has been made this afternoon into the history of Mr. Lincoln. The only evidence that he has a history as yet discovered, is that he had a stump canvass with Mr. Douglas, in which he was *beaten*. He is not very strong at the West, but is unassailable in his private character."

From several sources may be gathered the effect which the news of the nomination produced in the East. The report in the New York Times is as follows:

"Washington, Friday, May 18.

"The reception of the news of Lincoln's nomination at Chicago threw the House of Representatives into such excitement as to suspend business for some minutes. Everybody was delighted. Even Mr. Seward's warmest admirers pronounced the nomination most able and judicious. Judge Douglas and his friends think it the heaviest blow the Democracy has yet received, and say that by tomorrow night there will not be a tar barrel or a pound of powder in Illinois."[1]

Another account of the receipt of the news in Congress is given by Mr. Adams.[2] "The report was received with general incredulity, until by repeated announcements from different quarters it appeared that he had carried the day by a union of all the anti-Seward elements. The effect upon me was to depress, for, though no partisan of Governor Seward, I did feel as if he was the man to whom the party owed the nomination. But I could not fail to perceive in the faces of many of our friends the signs of a very opposite conviction. In truth, the western section and the middle states are exceedingly timid, and desire as far as possible to escape so direct an issue on the slave question as the nomination of Mr. Seward would have made. Mr. Lincoln is by no means of so decided a type, and yet he is in many respects a fair representative. I believe him honest and tolerably capable, but he has no experience and no business habits."

1. *New York Times*, May 19, 1860.
2. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, 114.

This opinion of Mr. Adams is similar to that given by Charles Carlton Coffin: "There was but one name on the lips of the Republicans of Illinois—that of Abraham Lincoln. * * * Outside of Illinois he was the 'rail-splitter"—a plain, ungainly man, a homespun candidate, once member of Congress, but unacquainted with public affairs as the ruler of a nation."

The New York "Times," May 19, 1860, published a most interesting list of extracts from various other eastern newspapers, showing the general attitude toward Lincoln's nomination. The comment of the New York "Tribune" is extremely fair and favorable to Lincoln: "While Mr. Lincoln's position as a Republican renders him satisfactory to the most zealous member of the party, the moderation of his character, and the conservative tendencies of his mind, long approved and well known of all men in public life, commend him to every section of the opposition. There is no good reason why Americans and Whigs, and in short all who are inspired rather by patriotism than by party feeling, should not rally to his support. Republicans and conservatives, those who dread the extension of slavery, and those who dread the progress of administrative and legislative corruption, may be assured that in him both these evils will find a stern and immovable antagonist and an impassable barrier. At the same time, as a man of the people, raised by his own genius and integrity from the humblest to the highest position, having made for himself an honored name as a lawyer, an advocate, a popular orator, a statesman, and a man, the industrious and intelligent masses of the country may well hail his nomination with a swelling tide of enthusiasm of which the wild and prolonged outbursts at Chicago yesterday are the fitting prelude and beginning."

The Buffalo "Commercial Advertiser" is somewhat more conservative, although favorable also in its comment: "Mr. Lincoln has not that long experience in public service which we could have wished, but he has something better in the strong, sagacious mind, cool and unshaking nerve, and intelligent familiarity with public measures, which lie at the bottom of all true statesmen."

The New Haven "Palladium" presents an extremely eulogistic notice as follows: " 'Honest Abe Lincoln,' as everybody calls him where he is best known, is just the man that this sorely swindled and disgraced nation needs for President. He is a man of stainless purity, his whole life is as spotless as the driven snow. He is no corruptionist, no trickster, no time server, but an honest, brave, straightforward, able man, who will restore the government to the purity of practice and principle which characterize the administration of the Revolutionary patriots. For this reason chiefly the heart of the nation, as if impelled by an overruling power, has been drawing silently but irresistibly towards him." The Concord "Statesman" expresses very neatly the reason for Seward's rejection: "* * * it is not that they loved Cæsar less, but Rome more."

The "National Intelligencer" expresses one of the strongest notes of dissatisfaction: "Though fully identified with the principles of that party, and justly entitled by his private worth and proved ability

to wear with dignity and honor * * * it may be able to confer, Mr. Lincoln, so far as we are aware, has not until recently occupied a prominent place in the list of distinguished citizens from which it was supposed the Republicans would make a selection in nominating a candidate for the Presidency."

There are many other quotations from Republican papers which cannot be given here, but the principal thought of them all seems to be that, Lincoln, while he might be an available candidate, was also a worthy one, to whose support wisdom, patriotism and loyalty called all the party factions. Seward himself set a noble example, when, even in the first bitterness of disappointment, he wrote the following words for the "Daily Republican:" "No truer or firmer defender of the Republican faith could have been found * * * than the distinguished * * * citizen on whom the honors of the nomination have fallen."[1]

With the opinions of these Republican papers it is interesting to compare the triumphant note of the Democratic Albany "Atlas and Argus:" "The defeat of Seward and the nomination of Lincoln emasculate the Republican party."

The most bitter attacks at the North were from the Abolitionists, headed by Wendell Phillips, whose organ was the "Liberator." The biography of William Lloyd Garrison throws some interesting light upon the subject: "The triumph of the Republican party was now a foregone conclusion, and all eyes were turned in scrutiny upon Lincoln. To the country at large he was an obscure, not to say an unknown man. His visit to New England in the fall of 1848, when, during the Congressional recess, he took the stump for Zachary Taylor, had made no impression. 'Who is this huckster in politics?' asked Wendell Phillips at the New England convention on May 30. 'Who is this county court advocate? Who is this who does not know whether he has got any opinions [about slavery]?' "[2]

It fell to Mr. Phillips, unhappily, to give the cue to the Abolitionists concerning Mr. Lincoln. Such examinations as he bestowed on the Illinois lawyer's brief Congressional career caused him to misinterpret and unjustly characterize a measure of Lincoln's intended to affect abolition in the District of Columbia, but accompanied by what seemed a necessary provision for the surrender of fugitive slaves—else had the District become a refuge for them from the adjoining states of Maryland and Virginia, and from the whole seaboard. Singling out this provision, Mr. Phillips published in the "Liberator" of June 22, 1860, a stinging article, headed "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave-Hound of Illinois." Mr. Garrison very reluctantly admitted both the caption and the text (of the justice of which he had no means of forming an opinion) and only in consideration of the article being signed. Mr. Lincoln did not lack defenders, and in the end Mr. Phillips produced a transcript of the bill.

Lincoln's debates with Douglas in 1858 were next overhauled by the Abolitionists, with a not unfair emphasizing of expressions which

1 Lothrop, *William H. Seward*, 201.

2 William Lloyd Garrison, The Story of His Life—Told by His Children. III, 303.

showed how far the Whig Republican then was from acknowledging the brotherhood of man, or from objecting to the Dred Scott decision because of its disfranchising the free blacks. His anticipation of Seward's "irrepressible conflict" was quickly pointed out in mitigation—proof of his statesmanship if not of his humanity.

The principal features of Mr. Phillips' "Slave-Hound" article are as follows: "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave-Hound of Illinois. We gibbet a Northern hound today, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia."[1] After quoting Section 5 of Lincoln's bill providing for the return of fugitive slaves from the District of Columbia, Mr. Phillips goes on to say: "No wonder Mr. Lincoln is unwilling to make any opposition to the Fugitive Slave Bill! No wonder the Chicago convention omitted that point in their resolutions! Their standard-bearer has a worse bill to answer for than even Mr. Mason."

In his lectures, Mr. Phillips expressed himself with equal bitterness as in the following remarks delivered November 7, 1860, at Boston.[2] "It is a noble idea—equality before the law. * * * Mark it and let us question Mr. Lincoln about it, Do you believe, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, that the negro is your political and social equal, or ought to be? Not a bit of it. Do you believe he should sit on juries? Never. Do you think he should vote? Certainly not. Should he be considered a citizen? I tell you frankly, no. Do you think that, when the Declaration of Independence says, 'all men are created equal,' it intends the political equality of blacks and whites? No sir.

"If this 'idea that fills all generous minds' be equality, surely Mr. Lincoln's mind is as yet empty, * * * and, secondly, notwithstanding the emptiness of Mr. Lincoln's mind, I think we shall yet succeed in making this a decent land to live in. May I tell you why? Place yourselves at the door of the Chicago convention. Do you see Mr. Lincoln? He believes a negro may walk where he wishes, eat what he earns, read what he can, and associate with any other who is exactly of the same shade of black he is. That is all he can grant."

The Liberator, later feeling called upon to explain even its half-hearted support of Lincoln, made the following elaborate justification of its position:[3]

"From the administration of Mr. Lincoln, as distinguished from his election, we are warranted in entertaining no confident hopes. His election as the act of the people, so intended, will be a demonstration in favor of liberty; his administration, as the action of an individual so constrained by the oath of office and surrounding circumstances, must be a continual support of slavery. Let not, therefore, any satisfaction here expressed be understood as based on expectations of what will be done by the incoming National Administration."

In opposition to the Abolistionist attitude, most of the prominent Eastern men of letters gave Lincoln their hearty support, as is shown by the passage quoted by Rhodes and by personal testimony:[4]

" * * * The torch-bearers of literature were on the side of Lincoln. 'I vote with the Republican party,' wrote Holmes to Motley, 'I can-

1. *The Liberator*, June 22, 1860.
2. *Speeches, Lectures and Letters*, 302.
3. *The Liberator*, November 9, 1860.
4. *History of the United States*, II, 485.

not hesitate between them and the Democrats.' Whittier offered the resolutions at a Republican meeting at Amesbury; William Cullen Bryant was at the head of the Lincoln electoral ticket of New York, and George William Curtis spoke frequently from the stump."

[1]Lowell in his "Prose Works" also, spoke his conviction as follows: "We are persuaded that the election of Mr. Lincoln will do more than anything else to appease the excitement of the country. He has proved both his ability and his integrity; he has had experience enough in public affairs to make him a statesman, and not enough to make him a politician. That he has not had more will be no objection to him in the eyes of those who have seen the administration of the experienced public functionary whose term of office is just drawing to a close."

Although, in the course of his public life Lincoln was often ignored, and misunderstood, and though his true worth was probably apparent to but few before his death, yet his brilliant and noble qualities steadily won their way to recognition in the East as well as in the West, as is shown by the following just and appreciative editorial in the New York Times:[2] "There can be no sort of difficulty in ascertaining Mr. Lincoln's opinions concerning slavery and its relations to our Federal Government—or in inferring from them what the general tone and character of his administration will be. Though he has taken small part in public life hitherto, he has had occasion very frequently to declare his sentiments on this subject, and that too, in a form at once definite and calculated to inspire confidence in his entire sincerity. Indeed, it is impossible for any one to listen to Mr. Lincoln, or to read what he has said or written, without the firmest faith in his sincerity and candor. His speeches carry with them the most conclusive evidence of his honesty and good faith. During all that long debate with Judge Douglas he never, in a single instance stoops to mis-construction, or to undignified retort, or swerves one hair's breadth from the most un-impeachable fairness and courtesy. He expresses the sophistries of his opponent with great acuteness and force, and bears down upon his positions with resistless logic. But he never deals in invective, he never dodges or evades any point made against him, and the whole tone and temper of his speeches is rather that of a judge, solicitous only for the truth, than of a partisan seeking a political victory. We know no public man of the day who evinces the great qualities of fair-mindedness, of mental as well as moral integrity, and of a sincere and profound conviction of the justice of his opinions, in a higher degree than Mr. Lincoln."

In brief, then, the facts and opinions here quoted concerning "The Growth of Public Opinion in the East in Regard to Lincoln," show on the one hand a man, slowly and conscientiously pursuing the course which to him seemed right to follow; and on the other hand, ignorance, indifference, doubt, misunderstanding and malice gradually yielding their tardy recognition to a greatness which, seeking not its own, could not long be hidden or denied.

1 Lowell, Prose Works, V, 43.
2 New York Times, November 8, 1860.

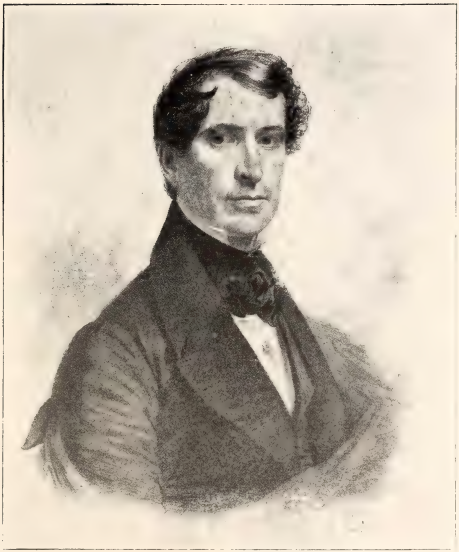
# FORGOTTEN STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS.
## RICHARD M. YOUNG.

(Dr. J. F. Snyder.)

[NOTE—Though but forty-five years have elapsed since the death of Judge Young, so evanescent is human fame that, apart from the records of his public acts, an extensive correspondence for a long time failed to discover anything of his personality, or domestic life, or even the locality of his place of residence. By suggestion of Col. Wm. R. Morrison I wrote to Hon. J. C. Allen of Olney, Ill., who answered that he had no personal knowledge of Judge Young, but remembered when in Congress, in 1853-55, a daughter of the Judge was a frequent caller upon Mrs. Richardson, wife of Hon. Wm. A. Richardson then representative of the Quincy district in Congress. Inferring from this that Quincy was probably the former home of Judge Young. I wrote for information to Hon. Wm. Collins of that city, who kindly had my letter inserted in the Quincy Daily Herald where it was noticed by Hon. Wm. A. Richardson, Jr., to whom I am indebted for the results of his elaborate search of all accessible facts in the history of Judge Young. This led to my communication with Mrs. Matthews, of Talbotton, Georgia, widow of Major Robert A. Matthews, (whose first wife was a daughter of Judge Young,) and to her I am under great obligations for much important material bearing upon this investigation. With these valuable and much appreciated aids I am enabled to present the following biographical sketch. J. F. S.]

RICHARD MONTGOMERY YOUNG was born in the southern part of Fayette county, since then organized as Jessamine county, on a farm near East Hickman creek about ten miles southeast of Lexington, Kentucky, on February 20, 1798. His parents, Scotch-English descent, were early settlers in that part of Kentucky, having migrated there from Virginia, their native state. His early boyhood was passed on the farm and in the country schools of that neighborhood until when about twelve or thirteen years of age, he was sent to a select school or academy in Jessamine county, known as Forest Hill, and conducted by Prof. Samuel Wilson. He there acquired some knowledge of the higher branches at that time taught in the colleges of Kentucky, including Latin, algebra, geometry and the natural sciences. He was there associated with the sons of the first families of Kentucky and some of the adjoining states, as the school was patronized chiefly by the wealthy slave-holding class.

In 1814, then sixteen years of age, he completed his studies at Forest Hill and commenced the study of law with Col. James Clark, a leading lawyer of Nicholasville, the county seat of Jessamine county. After two years of diligent application the Jessamine county court, at its November, 1816 term, gave him a certificate of moral character and permission to be examined in his legal studies. In accordance therewith he was duly examined by Judge Wm. T. Barry of Lexington, and Judge Benjamin Johnson of Georgetown, then Justices of



RICHARD M. YOUNG,
United States Senator from Illinois, 1837—1843.

the General Court of Kentucky and of the circuits in which they resided. Passing a highly creditable examination he received a license dated November 22, 1816, to practice law in his native state, and forthwith opened an office for business under the auspices of his preceptor in Nicholasville. About the same time he joined the state militia, and was elected cornet, or ensign, of a troop of light horse cavalry.

It required but a short time to convince him that competition in his profession in that old and wealthy community was too strong and active to permit his speedy promotion, and he was too impatient and impulsive to wait and bide his time. The territory of Illinois, then agitating the question of admission into the Union, offered a tempting field to aspiring Kentuckians, many of whom, already there—including the Territoral Governor and delegate to Congress—had gained high distinction. The young lawyer could not resist the opportunities presented there for early rewards of energy, industry and genius, and in the spring of the next year, 1817, left the blue grass paradise of Kentucky for the post oak hills of Southern Illinois. He located at Jonesboro in the western part of Johnson county, assured that that town would soon become the seat of justice of a proposed new county to be named Union; which was so organized on the Second of January of the following year, 1818, and he was then enrolled as a member of its bar. At that time he was a tall, handsome stripling, straight as a ramrod, with piercing hazel eyes and brown hair slightly inclined to curl. Social and friendly in disposition, with the polished manners of a Chesterfield, he was an interesting talker, a good speaker and full of life and energy. His fine figure and soldier-like bearing attracted the attention of Gen. James M. Duncan (formerly from Bourbon county, Kentucky) commander of the Second Brigade, Western Division of the Illinois militia, who appointed him his Aid-de-Camp with the rank of Captain, and he was so commissioned by Gov. Shadrach Bond on June 20, 1820.

From Mr. Young's first appearance as a citizen of Jonesboro the pioneer backwoodsmen of that region recognized his sprightly intellect, and his manly deportment won their esteem and confidence. As a lawyer he was successful. His practice was not long confined to the meagre litigation of Union county, but speedily extended to the courts of the several counties between Shawneetown to the east and Kaskaskia on the north, and to Missouri Territory beyond the Mississippi. He was a close and interested observer of the transition of Illinois in 1818, from a territorial form of government to that of a state, and actively participated in its embryo politics as a supporter of John McLean for Congress and Thomas Cox for the State Senate.* He was fascinated by public life as he then saw it, and it inspired him with aspirations in that line that influenced and shaped his subsequent career.

As time passed, Mr. Young's friends observed with pleasant surprise—as an evidence of increasing prosperity—the frequent calls for his presence at the courts over in Missouri Territory. They discov-

* For a sketch of Colonel Thomas Cox see *Annals of Iowa*. Third series, Vol. VII, No. 4, January, 1906.

erred later, however, that courting of another kind was the chief trans-Mississippi attraction for the young lawyer. In his earlier professional visits over there he had met, and fallen in love with, Miss Matilda James, second daughter of Judge William James, of St. Genevieve county, a beautiful girl, tall and graceful, and—for those days—highly educated and accomplished. She fully reciprocated his attachment, and accepted his proposal of marriage, but her parents positively refused their consent because of incompatibility of religious faith. They were devout Catholics, and were opposed to the marriage of their daughter to a heretic. Young, however, was not the sort of a man to permit such nonsense as that to wreck his visions of happiness, or frustrate any course he had determined to pursue; and the brave girl, wholly devoted to him, was willing to defy parental objections and authority of the church to share his fortunes. By preconserted agreement she eluded the family espionage and joined him at the tavern in St. Genevieve, and there, in the presence of a few friends, they were married, on June 25, 1820, by Rev. Justinian Williams, a Methodist preacher, and immediately left for their future home in Jonesboro.

The high merit and ability of Mr. Young, and his rising prominence in public esteem in a few years reconciled Judge James and his wife to the union of their daughter with him though an unbeliever, and they became very proud of their unshrived son-in-law. To quiet their qualms of conscience, and ensure perfect domestic harmony, a special dispensation was obtained from Right Rev. Bishop Rosatti, and in the month of August, 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Young were again married, by the Bishop himself in the old church at Kaskaskia, with the prescribed Catholic ceremony.

In the year 1820 Mr. Young's star was decidedly in the ascendent, and honors crowded upon him in quick succession. On the twentieth of June in that year he was commissioned a military captain; on the twenty-fifth he was married, and thirteen days later, at the general State election, on August 7, he was elected to represent Union county in the lower house of the Legislature by a much larger majority than was given any other candidate on the ticket.

The second General Assembly—to which Mr. Young was elected—was the first held at Vandalia, the new capital, and convened there on December 4, 1820. Vandalia, surveyed and platted but a few months before, was a dismal, muddy, collection of a dozen rude houses around a two-story frame building hastily erected for a State House, on a heavily timbered bluff of the Kaskaskia river. It was situated on the north side of that stream in a forest of trees and stumps through which a few roads had been cut in lieu of streets. Elias K. Kane was Secretary of State, and had a short time before the Legislature met, caused the State records to be brought there, from Kaskaskia, by Sidney Breese, his chief (and only) clerk, in a two-horse wagon. Pierre Menard, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided over the Senate of fourteen members, and the House, comprising twenty-nine members, was organized by choosing for Speaker, John McLean, who had been

defeated in his second race with Daniel P. Cook for re-election to Congress, and was elected to the Legislature by the people of Gallatin county, and Thomas Reynolds, who was some years later Governor of Missouri, was elected clerk.

The message of Governor Bond to the Legislature was brief and sensible. Among other recommendations, he advised the law makers to establish "a seminary of learning," and to locate it with the Supreme Court, at the State Capital (where in after years our State University should have been placed), "because," he argued, "by an occasional visit at the Houses of the General Assembly, and the courts of justice, the student will find the best specimens of oratory the State can produce, imbibe the principles of legal science and political knowledge, and by an intercourse with good society his habits of life would be chastened, and his manners improved." In the standing committees assignments Mr. Young was placed in the committee on Judiciary.

The most important legislation of the Second General Assembly was the chartering of a State bank, with branch banks at Shawneetown, Edwardsville and Brownsville, founded wholly on the State's credit without a dollar of cash capital. The banks thus created were authorized to issue notes of various denominations bearing two per cent interest, redeemable by the State in ten years, and were empowered to loan those notes to the people on personal security to the amount of $100,000.00, and to a greater amount on real estate mortages. The originators and supporters of that "wild cat" scheme believed it would fill a long-felt want by relieving existing restrictions on business arising from the great scarcity of money, and would be received by the people generally with unbounded approval. But to their surprise it met very decided opposition by a strong minority in the House, led by Speaker McLean, the ablest debater and orator in that body. The rules of the House, however, precluded the Speaker from participation in discussions or debates on the floor excepting when in committee of the whole, and fearing the influence of McLean's overpowering eloquence the majority would not permit the bill to be referred to a committee of the whole House. Not willing to be silenced by such pusillanimous tactics McLean resigned the Speakership, and taking the floor, with his usual matchless force and power, denounced the bank project as unconstitutional, wrong in principle, and a pernicious folly, and predicted its speedy failure if enacted.

Richard M. Young, then but twenty-two years of age, as leader of the majority in defense of the bill, met McLean's objections, if not with equal oratory, with arguments more convincing to the friends of the measure. It was a contest of intellectual gladiators who had few equals in the State, and victory was won by Young. The bill passed both Houses, but was returned by the Board of Revision on the ground that it was unconstitutional and inexpedient. Both Houses

immediately overrode that veto by again passing the bill with the constitutional two-thirds majority; and then the House, in a spirit of conciliation, re-elected McLean Speaker. Considerable time of the session was wasted in a foolish wrangle between the House and Senate; certain stay laws that time proved to be wholly ineffective, if not detrimental, were enacted, with other legislation of minor value, and the Assembly adjourned on February 15, 1821.

The State bank and its branches were immediately put in operation, and their utter failure within four years, with loss to the State of $300,000.00, verified McLean's prediction, and convinced Mr. Young that he had made a grave mistake in favoring such an absurd system. Governor Ford, commenting on this bank legislation twenty-seven years later, said: "The most distinguished advocate for the creation of this bank, amongst the members of the House of Representatives, was Judge Richard M. Young, who has since been so prominent in Illinois, and who is one of the very many examples in our history of the forgiving disposition of the people, to such of their public servants as have been so unfortunate as to be in favor of bad measures, or opposed to good ones."* Governor Ford was perhaps not entirely correct in attributing the "forgiving disposition" to the people instead of to the Legislature. There is every reason to believe that Mr. Young's constituents did not approve of, or forgive him for, his aid in establishing that State bank. That he voluntarily declined political promotion and sought retirement after his brilliant triumph over ex-Congressman McLean is scarcely credible of one possessing his vaulting ambition. But, certain it is, he was not endorsed or vindicated by re-election to the Legislature, and was never afterward elected to a public position by popular vote, excepting that of Presidential elector in 1828. However, in August, 1821, he was elected by the militia of Union county colonel of the Tenth regiment of Illinois militia, and was commissioned as such by Governor Bond on the tenth of the following September, when but twenty-three years old.

Colonel Young's military duties were limited to occasional dress parades and the annual "corn-stalk" musters of his regiment, as required by law—a burlesque military drill affording the enrolled militia a day each year of patriotic ebulition and convivial amusement. Laying aside, for a while, further political aspirations, he applied himself studiously to his books and profession to such profit that in two or three years his reputation as a learned and able jurist was heralded throughout the State and beyond its borders. As widespread also was his personal acquaintance with the leading men of the day, particularly those of the legal fraternity and prominent politicians. He was well informed on all questions of public policy before the people, and seldom hesitated to express his opinions concerning them in unmistakable terms. Born and reared in the South, Colonel Young was educated to regard the institution of slavery—which was sanctioned and upheld by the national constitution and State laws—as right in principle and practice, and steadfastly adhered to that view through life. Upon that issue he opposed the election

*Ford's History of Illinois, p. 46.

of Edward Coles for Governor in 1822, and voted for Judge Thomas C. Browne, one of his pro-slavery opponents. He favored the convention scheme of 1823 for establishing slavery in Illinois, and voted for its adoption in August, 1824.

The atrocious attempt by the third General Assembly to fasten slavery upon Illinois was followed for eighteen months by a canvass of the utmost bitterness and malignity. It sundered old friendships and family ties, divided neighbors and kinsmen, and arrayed them against each other. Personal collisions and personal violence were of common occurrence, and the struggle increased in wild excitement and violence until the State seemed on the verge of civil war. But from that protracted and vigorous discussion of the question came a reaction—or, more properly, an awakening—of public opinion that resulted in defeat of the proposed convention by a large majority, and of the election, on August 2, 1824, of the fourth Legislature, which was more decidedly anti-slavery in complexion than that of 1822 was in favor of slavery. Supreme in its control of legislation it should, consistently and logically, have rewarded, with public positions at its disposal, the faithful leaders of the Free Soil party in the fierce conflict just past for rescuing Illinois from the impending curse of slavery. Instead of so doing, however, it surprisingly and inexplicably displayed that "forgiving disposition" mentioned by Governor Ford, by electing to the United States Senate John McLean and Elias Kent Kane, two of the ablest and most active supporters of the slavery convention in the State. And in its reorganization of the judiciary it elected (for life) William Wilson Chief Justice and Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Browne and Theophilus W. Smith Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, the two last named conspicuous leaders of the slavery party. It also chose for Judges of the five Circuit Courts created John W. Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young, James Hall and James O. Wattles, all of whom had voted for the convention to perpetuate slavery in the State.

Thus, on December 30, 1824, Richard M. Young, at the age of twenty-six was elevated to the bench and commissioned a Circuit Court Judge by Governor Coles on January 19, 1825. On receiving his commission he changed his residence from Jonesboro to Kaskaskia, the most central point of the third judicial circuit, over which he was to preside. He thereupon entered upon the discharge of his new duties with enthusiasm, apparently quite elated by the unexpected honor conferred upon him. On Saturday, April 30, 1825, the steamboat Natchez, from St. Louis, rounded to and tied up at the Kaskaskia landing, amid the roar of cannon and strains of martial music and shouts of an assembled multitude of people, having aboard the distinguished guest of the nation, the Marquis de Lafayette, who came to visit Illinois in response to an invitation extended to him by the Legislature. Judge Young was one of the officials specially appointed to welcome the illustrious visitor, and, with Governor Coles and others, escorted him to Colonel Sweet's old tavern, and then to the grand reception at the home of General John Edgar, and afterward to the brilliant ball at the Morrison mansion, where, of all the

youth and beauty gathered there, no couple shone more resplendent than Judge and Mrs. Young. General Lafayette was escorted by Governor Coles and a few other State dignitaries to Vandalia, [1] then to Shawneetown, and from there by chartered steamboat to Nashville, Tenn. Returning to Shawneetown he took his departure to the east, accompanied by Governor Coles.

The law creating the new circuit courts provided that the judges should each receive an annual salary of $600; the Supreme Court judges were paid $800 per annum.

Any prosperous lawyer would have hesitated to relinquish his paying practice for such a beggarly salary and those of that class who did so accepted the judgeships merely as stepping stones to something better. Consequently the judges, with very few exceptions, were active politicians, constantly scheming and electioneering for promotion to higher or more lucrative positions. Judge Young was not one of those few exceptions. He conducted his courts with dignity and conscientious rectitude, but neglected no opportunity to keep himself in the limelight of popular favor. An illustration of this is seen in a letter he wrote to Governor Edwards from Kaskaskia on July 8, 1825, urging Edwards to be a candidate for governor the next year to succeed Governor Coles. "There seems at this time," he said, "to be an almost unanimous acclamation in your favor against the pretentions of any other person that might offer against you in all the Southern counties, and such is the state of feeling towards you that your most inveterate enemies below (who are very few) are compelled to admit that in the counties of Union, Alexander, Johnson and Pope you would get five votes to one against any candidate that could be brought against you." [2] At the time Judge Young wrote this he was not one of Governor Edwards' political followers, but belonged to the Bond-Thomas-McLean faction that opposed him. He was, no doubt, sincere in the belief expressed that Edwards could, and would, be easily elected in 1826, and thought it prudent to "cast an anchor to the windward" in time.

Edwards was elected governor, though in the four counties named by Judge Young he received but 424 votes to 404 for Thomas Sloo, the opposing candidate. Of the 12,579 votes polled in the State at that election, 6,043 were given to Edwards and 5,973 to Sloo; a majority of 70 for Edwards.[3]

Judge Young gained nothing by "bending the pregnant hinges of the knee" to Governor Edwards, as the result of the election showed that he knew nothing of the public sentiment in his district, or misrepresented it if he did, apparently with the transparent object of currying favor. After his election Governor Edwards, who was one of the directors *ex-officio* of the old State bank at Edwardsville—the branch banks having failed and suspended some time before—found

1 The visit of General Lafayette to Vandalia is stated upon the authority of Governor Reynolds in his *Life and Times*, first edition, p. 258.
2 Edwards' Papers, p. 237-238.
3 Ibid, p. 251.

time to maintain a vigilant supervision of the bank's affairs, as is seen in the following letter he wrote to Richard J. Hamilton, the cashier, dated, "Belleville, Oct. 11, 1828:[1]

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 26th ult., is just received, in which, after representing how, and on what security the loan to Judge Young was made, you state that by order of the Board of Directors, on the same day, he was appointed attorney for the bank; that he was to retain the money of the bank to the amount of his loan whenever he collected that much as its attorney; but that shortly afterwards he informed you that he wished to withdraw his paper, and not to consider the loan as an accommodation to him, from which the most natural inference would seem to be that he had no loan at all, which is directly contrary to the statement in your letter of the fifteenth of October last, in which after reciting the order for his loan, you say: "On this order the money was afterwards paid out of the bank, and shortly afterwards again repaid to the bank by Young." As this apparent discrepancy, though doubtless susceptible of explanation by you, leaves me altogether in the dark as to the actual state of this case, and as it is as necessary and proper that I should understand it correctly, as that of any other director, I have to request you to furnish me with a copy of all charges and credits on your books against and for Judge Young, with their respective dates; such information as you may possess as to any collections made by him for the bank; when respectively made; whether the quarter section of land mortgaged by him was patented at the time; whether it was valued, and if so, by whom.

Unfortunately, the cashier's answer to this demand for information is lost, but the tone and purport of the letter plainly imply that Judge Young had the confidence of the "bank ring" that defied executive control, and that he was himself, not an especial favorite of the Governor.

The legislature of 1824-25 required the supreme court justices to prepare a revision of the Statutes of the State and report the same to the next session of 1826-27, which was done and the result of their labors was then adopted. Governor Ford said, "the laws then presented by them have been standard laws in every revision since." The work was mainly done by Justices Lockwood and Smith, with some aid by two or three of the circuit judges. "Judge McRoberts prepared the act regarding frauds and perjuries; Judge Sawyer, the act concerning insolvent debtors; Judge Young the act concerning wills and testaments, etc." [2]

The expenses for entertaining General Lafayette, paid by the State amounted to $6,473. That amount, together with the expenses of the adjourned session, the cost of taking the late State census, and the salaries of the five new circuit court judges, not only drained the treasury, but caused a deficit of $40,000. A State debt of that magnitude alarmed the people. With but insignificant sources of revenue, and only depreciated paper currency in circulation, there seemed to them no possibility for averting either grinding taxation or bankruptcy. Then was raised from all quarters a demand for retrenchment of public expenses. "A great outcry was raised against extravagance of the judiciary system, the prodigal waste of public money to pension unnecessary life officers upon the people; and a talented young lawyer of stinging eloquence in the southern part of the State, a man possessing many qualities which admirably fitted him for a dema-

1 Edwards Papers, p. 375-376.
2 Ford's History of Illinois, p. 60.

gogue of the highest order (A. P. Field ?)—mounted the hobby and rode it in a storm of passion through several counties in the south." [1] Principally upon that issue the legislature of 1826-27 was elected, and one of its first acts, on January 12, 1827, was to repeal the circuit court system, thereby turning the five new circuit judges out of office, and requiring the four supreme court justices to hold the circuit courts as before, thus effecting an annual saving for the State of $3,000 !

Judge Young wasted no time in repining for his lost office, but immediately resumed the practice of law at Kaskaskia in partnership with Hon. Elias K. Kane, at that time United States Senator. About that time, 1827, an Illinois State Historical Society was organized at Vandalia with Judge James Hall as its president. Among its active members was Judge Young, with Sidney Breese, John M. Peck, Chief Justice Wilson, Governor Coles, Governor Reynolds, and other distinguished jurists, scholars and statesmen of literary tastes, interested in preserving the State's History. For a few years the Society continued its valuable labors, but was finally abandoned owing to the political and financial vicissitudes of its members, and for want of aid and encouragement from the State, and its empty treasury.

The election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency by the lower house of Congress, in 1825, had the effect of marvelously increasing the popularity of General Jackson, and of sharply defining political party lines. The nomination of Jackson for President 1828 by the Republican Democrats—as his party was styled—in opposition to Adams, the candidate for re-election, of the Federalists, or Whigs, was productive of boisterous excitement in Illinois. An interesting relic of the party spirit and organization of those days, now preserved in the State Historical Library, is the proceedings—in the handwriting of Charles Slade—of a "Jackson convention" held at Kaskaskia, on Monday, June 9, 1828, for selecting a candidate for Presidential Elector for that district. John S. Hacker was called to the chair and Charles Slade and James Jones elected Secretaries. On roll call of counties the following delegates answered:

From the county of St. Clair, Danl. Stookey and John Middlecoff; from the county of Monroe, Dr. Wm. S. Goforth and Isaac W. Starr; from the county of Clinton, Charles Slade and Caton Usher; from the county of Randolph, R. M. Young and Saml. Crawford; from the county of Jackson, Geo. Butcher and Saml, Atherton; from the county of Johnson, James Jones and Jos. Kuykendall; from the county of Union, Alex. P. Field and John S. Hacker.

A committee of seven was provided, on motion of A. P. Field, to draft resolutions "expressive of the sense of the convention," and the chair appointed Field, Middlecoff, Goforth, Usher, Young, Butcher and Kuykendall, said committee. The first resolution of their report declared "a total want of confidence in the political integrity and principles of John Quincy Adams," but that we "have unshaken confidence in the integrity, firmness, patriotism and ability of General Andrew Jackson, etc." The fourth resolution

*Resolved*, That having entire confidence in the character and unshaken political entegrity and Republican principles of our fellow citizen, Richard M. Young; Esq., of Randolph county, we hereby nominate him as a suitable

1 Ford's History of Illinois, p. 57.

candidate to be supported as one of the electors on the Jackson Electoral ticket of this State in conjunction with Colonel John Huston of Crawford county, and Colonel John Taylor of Sangamon county, of whose nomination by the friends of General Jackson we most cordially approve, and the undivided support of every friend of Republican Government and the preservation of Free principles in this State, ought to be given to their election."

Mr. Field then arose and in an appropriate and eloquent address assigned the reasons of the committee for preferring the claims of General Jackson over those of John Quincy Adams for the next Presidency, and concluded by recommending adoption of the resolutions as reported by the committee, which was done by a unanimous vote of the convention. And yet, that same Colonel A. P. Field, upon his appointment by Governor Edwards to the office of Secretary of State, on December 31st of that year, 1828, joined the Whig party, and was thenceforth an inveterate enemy of the Jackson Democracy. It is needless to add that Judge Young and the entire Jackson ticket carried Illinois at the November election by an overwhelming majority.

Defeat of the convention scheme in 1824, and the assurance thereby given that Illinois was irrevocably a free State, greatly augmented the stream of emigration that for some years had been pouring into it. The "Military Tract" between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers seemed to offer special inducements to the newcomers to locate there, and was rapidly dotted over with pioneer settlements. In order to extend the protection, and restraints, of civil law over that influx of population it was necessary to organize the territory west and north of the Illinois river into counties, though some of them, still occupied by Indians, would contain less than 400 white people. Pike county had been organized in 1821, and Fulton in 1823. The Fifth General Assembly then created, in 1825, the counties of Adams, Schuyler, Peoria, Hancock, Henry, Knox, Mercer and Warren. McDonough was added in 1826, and Jo Daviess in 1827. That multiplication of counties over-taxed the four Supreme Court Justices whose duty it was to hold circuit courts in all the counties of the State. The Sixth Legislature, that convened at Vandalia on December 1, 1828, came to their relief by passing an Act on January 8, 1829, forming a fifth judicial district comprising all the territory, west and north of the Illinois river within the State's limits. The Legislature then elected Richard M. Young judge of that circuit with a salary of $700 a year to be paid in quarterly installments; and fifteen days later, January 23rd, he received his commission from Governor Edwards, who probably experienced no sorrow in thus committing him to exile.

For the next six years Judge Young was the only circuit judge—elected and commissioned as such—in Illinois. With his usual energy and enthusiasm he immediately commenced the work of his new office with William Thomas, of Morgan county, as State's Attorney, who was commissioned on the same day as himself. Mr. Thomas was succeeded as State's Attorney of that fifth district by Thomas Ford, on March 15, 1830, who was again appointed on February 15, 1831. Ford was succeeded by Wm. A. Richardson, on February 13, 1835, who served until February 25, 1839, when he was followed by Wm.

Elliott, Jr. In the autum of 1829 Judge Young left Kaskaskia and located in Galena, then at the zenith of its lead mining industry, and the most populous and busiest town in the State. Judge Samuel D Lockwood, of the Supreme Court, who resided at Jacksonville, had held court at Galena, Quincy, Peoria and Lewiston, but gladly relinquished that part of of his circuit to the newly elected judge.

A search of the records at Galena[1] failed to reveal any evidence that Judge Young at any time purchased real estate there; from which fact it may be inferred that he regarded his residence in Galena as only temporary. That he purchased certain personal property there, however, is shown by the following significant bill of sale recorded July 24, 1830, on page 108 of Record "A" of Deeds:

"Wharton R. Barton
to
R. M. Young.

Know all men by these presents that I, Wharton R. Barton, for and in consideration of the sum of seventy-five dollars to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have this day bargained, sold and delivered, and by these presents do bargain, sell and deliver unto Richard M. Young of the town of Galena, County of Jo Daviess, and State of Illinois, a negro girl of a black color, named Mary, five years of age the 14th of March last, and the daughter of a registered negro woman now in the care of John V. Miller in the said town of Galena; to have and to hold the said negro girl Mary unto the said Richard M. Young, his heirs and assigns, together with the benefit of her services, until she shall arrive at the age of eighteen years, at which time by the constitution and laws of Illinois she is entitled to her freedom. Witness my hand and seal at Galena this 17th day of May, 1830.

Signed, Wharton R. Barton [Seal.]

Witness, John Foley.
Acknowledged before James Nagle, Justice of the Peace.
Recorded July 24, 1830.

James W. Stephenson,
Recorder."

After Judge Young was elected judge of the new fifth district, in 1829, he was strongly urged by his numerous friends to enter the race for Governor with John Reynolds and Wm. Kinney, and was much tempted to do so. For some time he seriously considered the matter, and finally, concluding that a bird in the hand was worth more than two in the bush, declined becoming a candidate.[2]

In 1831 the Seventh General Assembly organized and added to Judge Young's circuit the counties of Cook, Rock Island and La Salle, completing the area of his jurisdiction from Galena to Lake Michigan, thence down the Illinois river to its confluence with the Mississippi.

Desiring a quieter place of residence for his family than Galena then on the extreme frontier, and little more than a large mining camp infested with speculators, gamblers, and every variety of social outcasts who respected neither moral or civil law, Judge Young moved to Quincy in the spring of 1831. On the thirteenth of June following he entered the north half of the N. W. qr. of Sec. 4. 2S. 8W; eighty acres, to which he added, by entry, on Dec. 26, 1832, the N. W. qr. of

1 By Hon. William Spensley, the well-known Galena attorney, to whom I am indebted for many personal courtesies and valuable information.

2 Edwards Papers, p. 426.

the N. E. qr. of the same section, forty acres, in Adams county. On that 120 acre farm he built a substantial two-story frame dwelling, a barn and other necessary out-houses, and moved there, from the village, as soon as the buildings were completed. Mr. Wm. A. Richardson writing of that farm house, in the Quincy Herald, Dec. 19, 1905, said it was situated "on the east side of the country lane between Broadway road and State street road sometimes called Forty-eighth street, then some three and a half miles due east of the village of Quincy. This old white house, with its green blinds, was a home of genuine hospitality the politicians and men of affairs going out to see Judge Young, and the society people going out to see Mrs Young. Mrs. Young was particularly found of young people, and generally had some young lady stay with her when the Judge was away 'riding the circuit.' Doubtless, these brought other maidens and their beaus, and other swains, and the old farm house was full of life and innocent gayety."

During the greater part of each year, for the eight years Judge Young presided over that circuit, he traveled to hold his courts in the scattered settlements generally on horseback and often alone, following dim Indian and buffalo trails, through trackless prairies and pathless woods and across unbridged streams, not unfrequently camping by the wayside when night overtook him.

Ballance,[1] writing of him said: "In May, 1833, he made his appearance in the Village of Peoria, and announced that he was on his way to Chicago to hold court. He had traveled about 130 miles from Quincy, where he lived, and had to travel, as the trail then run, not less than 170 miles further, to hold the first court on his circuit. Just think of a horseback ride of at least 300 miles to hold a three days' court!"

Judge Young was not deterred from his circuit riding by the turmoil and dangers of the Black Hawk War in 1832, but rode fearlessly without escort from one county seat to another and held his courts while the volunteers were chasing the Indians out of the State. On the twentieth of May of that year occured the heartrending murder of fifteen settlers by a party of Black Hawk's Indians at the house of Wm. Davis on Indian creek, twelve miles north of Ottawa, in LaSalle county; and the only two then there whose lives were spared, Rachael and Silvia Hall, were carried away by the savages. Two of the Indians implicated in that massacre and abduction, To-qua-mee and Co-mee, were afterwards apprehended and indicted by the grand jury of LaSalle county (instead of being summarily lynched) and after long delay were tried before Judge Young and a jury at Ottawa. Thomas Ford was the prosecuting attorney and the Indians were defended by Hamilton and Bigelow. For want of certain identification the culprits were acquitted, and afterwards boasted of their guilt.

About a year after Judge Young's location at Quincy, he established and conducted a Democratic newspaper there, entitled the "Illinois Bounty Land Register," edited by himself and published by C. M. Woods. It was the first newspaper published north of the Illinois

1 History of Peoria, by C. Ballance, Peoria, 1870, p. 63.

river, with the exception of the two papers at Galena established there a short time before. Nothing is now known of the paper's subsequent history.

Though almost constantly engaged on his extensive circuit, Judge Young managed to attend all terms of the Supreme Court at Vandalia, and also to visit the State Capital at every session of the Legislature. He was personally known to all the officials and politicians in the State, and was himself one of the most popular and highly esteemed of the State's public men. When the lower house of the Eighth General Assembly preferred charges, in 1833, against Justice Theophilus W. Smith of the Supreme Court, and placed him on trial for impeachment before the Senate as a jury, he selected as attorneys to defend him, Sidney Breese, Richard M. Young and Thomas Ford. The managers on the part of the House, who prosecuted him, were Benjamin Mills, John T. Stuart, James Semple, Murray McConnel and John Dougherty, an array of talented, learned men on both sides—not surpassed in the legal profession of the State. The trial lasted from January 9th to February 7th, resulting in a negative acquittal. The speech of Judge Young on that occassion, January 29th, was one of the best efforts of his life. It was listened to with intense interest by the entire Legislature, and all others who could crowd into the room, and added new laurels to his already high reputation for forensic ability.

The Nineth General Assembly began its first session at Vandalia December 1, 1834. One of its first duties was the election of a United States Senator to succeed Hon. John M. Robinson, who was a candidate for election to succeed himself. General Robinson had served in the Senate very acceptably since he was elected in 1830, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John McLean; but objection was raised to his re-election, by some, on the score of his personal habits and by others because of his Southern location, White county, claiming that as all the Senators had been chosen from the Southern counties since the admission of the State into the Union, simple justice would demand the next Senator be taken from one of the Northern counties. When, therefore, the two houses met in joint session for the election on the thirteenth of December, Judge Young was presented as a candidate by one of his friends, and, considering all things, developed surprising strength. However, General Robinson was elected, receiving 47 votes to 30 for Judge Young, and 4 for Wm. B. Archer.

Having disposed of the Senatorial election the Legislature took up the serious consideration of other important matters before them. The population of the State was increasing rapidly, and litigation in the courts correspondingly increasing to such an extent that the four Supreme Court justices were no longer able to hold all the courts in their respective circuits and satisfactorily discharge the functions of a Supreme Court. Ballance says: "In those days there were but few roads and bridges in the northern half of the State. No road of any kind had then (1833) been opened from Peoria to Chicago. In fact, the most essential requisites of a good judge for this circuit were to own a good horse and be a good rider. These two requisites Judge

Young possessed in a high degree. He was a fine looking, complaisant Kentuckian, who possessed a fine, high-blooded Kentucky horse, and knew well how to ride him."[1] Yet, notwithstanding those valuable requisites, the legal business of Judge Young's immense district was growing beyond his capacity to properly manage it. The Legislature, convinced that something must be done to relieve the overworked judiciary, accordingly passed, on January 7, 1835, an act providing for the election of five additional Circuit Judges, and exempting the Supreme Court justices from further Circuit Court duty. By that act Judge Young was retained judge of the fifth district, as before; and on the seventeenth of January another act was passed curtailing that district to Pike, Adams, Hancock, McDonough, Knox, Warren, Fulton and Schuyler counties, which territory included the counties of Calhoun, Brown and Henderson, subsequently organized.

That change affording Judge Young some leisure for social and domestic enjoyment, he concluded to leave his farm and move into the village of Quincy. Whereupon he sold, on June 25, 1835, to John Cleveland, for the sum of $2,500, his farm of 150 acres, reserving possession until the first of the next March. On the twenty-sixth of the following September he purchased of Thomas Carlin and wife, for $500, lot six in block ten "of the original town of Quincy, fronting on Hampshire street 99 feet and running back at right angles 198 feet." On December 8 he sold to Samuel Jackson, for $300, twenty-five feet off the west side of that lot, and on the remaining seventy-three feet he built a fine brick mansion two stories high, with a hall running through the middle." Mr. John Wheeler, a nonagenarian, remembers hearing Judge Young say that he had moved to town to please his wife, but that he himself would prefer to live in the country. Mr. Wheeler says Mrs. Young was regarded by people of those early times as a fashionable society woman, and that her home was a center of social gayety. He says further that they were "a very good looking couple, the Judge tall and straight, and his wife above medium height and beautiful."[2]

"Judge Young, in 1835, bought the land where the Tremont House, the barber shop and cigar store now stand on Hampshire street, and built him a home thereon. Many of our citizens remember the old Young mansion, and some of the older ones remember grand parties given there by Judge and Mrs. Young. Some remember one of their daughters, and some remember two."[3]

As before stated, Judge Young sold to Samuel Jackson, on December 8, 1835, twenty-five feet off the west side of lot six—where the cigar store now stands—for $300. After having built his mansion he, and wife Matilda, executed a mortgage deed of the property to Edgcombe H. Blatchford, on February 26, 1848, to secure a debt of $3,397.71. On August 17, 1849, the Judge and wife sold to Hiram Rogers another part of lot six—where the barber shop is—for $1,000. March 13, 1852, the judge and wife executed, at Washington city, a

1 "*History of Peoria*," by C. Ballance. 1870, p. 63.
2 From Mr. William A. Richardson's notes.
3 Quincy "Daily Herald," October 19, 1905.

power of attorney to Harrison Dills, of Quincy, "to sell remaining right and title, interest and claim of, in and to, lots six and seven, in block ten, as designated on the original plat of the city of Quincy." Mr. Dills sold the premises, on April 8, 1852, to Mrs. Rebecca Carlin for $3,500, and she conveyed the same to John Schell, who lived there several years, and sold it to Mr. Cather. That gentleman tore the old "Young mansion" away in 1856 or 1857 and built on its site the hotel which was first called the Cather House, and afterwards, in other hands, the St. Charles, and afterwards again, and still in other hands, the Tremont.

The second session of the ninth legislature was commenced at Vandalia on December 7, 1835. On the twenty-ninth of that month a special message from Goveanor Duncan to the two houses conveyed the sad intelligence of the death of Senator Elias K. Kane, and advised that an election to fill his vacancy be held "during the present session." By agreement the two houses met in joint session on the afternoon of that day and proceeded with the election. The principal candidates were James Semple, Speaker of the House, and General W. L. D. Ewing. The friends of Judge Young and of Lieutenant Governor Alexander M. Jenkins among the members placed them in nomination also. The first ballot stood, 25 votes for Semple, 19 for Young, 18 for Ewing and 15 for Jenkins. Eleven ballots were taken when Ewing was elected, "by the aid of Lincoln and the anti-Jackson men,"[1] receiving 40 votes to 37 for Semple. Judge Young's name was withdrawn after the eighth ballot. Senator Ewing served until March 4, 1836, sixty-three days. It is hardly probable that Judge Young would have sought to be a candidate for a brief term of sixty-three days in the United States Senate, or made any effort to secure it. That he was placed in nomination for the place and voted for through eight balllots while he was busily engaged on his wilderness circuit was no doubt due to the partiality of his friends in the legislature, and must be regarded as evidence of his popularity, and the appreciation of his worth and talents. However, at the next Senatorial election for a full term successor to General Ewing, in which Young and Ewing were again candidates, the tables were turned, the Judge retrieving his defeat by a decided victory over the General.

Judge Young had been twice presented by his friends to the legislature as a candidate for the Senate, whether with his consent or connivance, or not, is now immaterial; but when the legislature again met at Vandalia, on December 5, 1836, he was there and announced himself again a candidate for the Senate to succeed General Ewing. That [tenth] general assembly "was one of the most remarkable bodies of law-makers which ever assembled in the legislative halls of Illinois, or of any other State."[2] "No legislature of our State before, and very few since, have comprised such an array of brainy, talented men; or as many who subsequently gained such eminence in the annals of the State and nation. In the Senate were Orville H. Browning, Cyrus Edwards, Wm. J. Gatewood, John S. Hacker, Robert K.

1 Moses' History of Illinois, vol. I. p. 405.
2 Moses' History of Illinois, vol. I. p. 406-407.

McLaughlin, Henry I. Mills, Wm. Thomas, John D. Whiteside and John D. Wood. And in the House were Edward D. Baker, John Hogan, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Richard N. Cullom (father of Senator Shelby M. Cullom), John Dement, John Dougherty, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Abraham Lincoln, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Augustus C. French, John J. Hardin, Usher F. Linder, Dr. John Logan (father of General John A. Logan), John A. McClernand, James Semple, John Moore, Wm. A. Richardson, James H. Ralston, and Robert Smith. In this list are found one President of the United States, six who have occupied seats in the United States Senate, eight Congressmen, three Governors, three Lieutenant Governors, two attorney Generals, five State Treasurers, two State Auditors, one State Superintendent of Schools and several Judges."[1]

The two houses met in joint session on the fourteenth of December and proceeded at once with the Senatorial election. Neither of the candidates voted for received a majority of all the votes cast on either the first or second ballot. On the third ballot 62 legislators voted for Richard M. Young, 24 for Samuel McRoberts, 17 for Archibald Williams, 12 for Wm. L. D. Ewing, 7 for Judge Thomas C. Browne, and 1 for Chief Justice Wm. Wilson. Elected United States Senator for the term of six years by that famous assembly, by a majority of 7 votes over the combined vote of all his distinguished opponents, was an honor of which Judge Young might well be proud. Yet, it was that same assembly—that body of collective wisdom—that, later in the session, enacted the wild Internal Improvement folly which brought the State so nearly to the verge of ruin and bankruptcy.

On January 2, 1837, Senator Young resigned his judgeship preparatory to entering upon the duties of the higher position to which he was elevated, commencing on the fourth of the following March. Proceeding to Washington in November he took his seat in the Twenty-fifth Congress, as the junior Illinois Senator, with his colleague, Hon. John M. Robinson. Illinois was then represented in the lower house of Congress by Adam W. Snyder, Zadok Casey and Wm. L. May. Martin Van Buren was President and Richard M. Johnson Vice-President. During Judge Young's term in the Senate the deliberations and legislation of Congress were uneventful. Our country was prosperous and at peace with all the world—excepting the Seminole Indians of Florida. The main issues dividing the political parties were, the financial policy, internal improvements by the general government, and, incidentally, some phases of the slavery question. The Whigs favored a U. S. bank, and national roads made by the government. The Democrats were opposed to both, and contended for hard money and the sub-treasury system. Much time was consumed in both houses of Congress in efforts to establish a fixed plan for disposition of the public lands, and adjustment of pre-emption laws. Then later, after recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States, and the proposed annexation of that lone star republic to the Union as a slave state, and the introduction of a bill

1 Adam W. Snyder, and His Period in Illinois History, 1906, p. 214.

providing for a national bankrupt law, were productive of long acrimonious debates and much ill-feeling.

Senator Young was not remarkable as a parliamentarian or orator, but was admittedly a dignified, able and clear-headed statesman. His speech in the Senate on January 8, 1839, in reply to Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, onthe bill to graduate and reduce the price of public lands; and that on February 1, 1841, on the prospective pre-emption bill and Senator Calhoun's proposition to dispose of public lands in the new states, were efforts of surprising strength. Among his best political productions was a circular letter he addressed to the people of Illinois, from Washington, on June 30, 1842, defining in masterly style the leading principles of the Democratic party. That address was published in all the Democratic papers of the State coincident with the selection of Judge Ford as the candidate of that party for Governor, and contributed largely to the decided success of the Democratic ticket at that election. A noted episode of Judge Young's Senatorial term was his mission to England, in 1839, to negotiate a loan for the State of Illinois.

The Eleventh General Assembly authorized the State to borrow, upon its credit, an additional sum of $4,000,000 for the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. It also elected Thomas Mather, Charles Oakley and M. M. Rawlings, Fund Commissioners, to negotiate all loans, and sell all bonds for said loans. John Reynolds was elected to Congress in August, 1838, at the same time Thomas Carlin was elected Governor, but would not take his seat in the House until sixteen months later, December 2, 1839. He had long desired to visit Europe, and now saw his opportunity to do so at public expense. Reynolds and Carlin were old friends; both were of Irish descent, and early pioneers of Illinois; they had served together as rangers in the war of 1812, and were together in the Black Hawk war. Governor Reynolds visited Vandalia to see his friend Carlin inaugurated in the executive chair, and remained, almost as long as the Legislature did. As the State's credit was nearly exhausted here, he had no difficulty in persuading Governor Carlin that it would be better to send a special commissioner of national reputation to negotiate the new $4,000,000 loan in foreign money markets. Though three Fund commissioners were provided for that purpose by the legislature, Reynolds easily wheedled the Governor into making him that special commissioner. Then after securing his free junket, aware of his incapacity for such a responsible task he begged Carlin to appoint another special commissioner to accompany him. To this the Governor acceded, and chose his friend and neighbor in Quincy, Senator Young, for the second commissioner.

It is doubtful if two other men so conspicuous in public life at that time as Governor Reynolds and Senator Young, could have been found, so little qualified—so destitute of financial tact and skill, for such a difficult and important mission as they. When Governor Carlin was made aware of that fact by friends in whom he confided, he sent two of the Fund commissioners along, Colonel Oakley and General Rawlings, to manage the business. Governor Reynolds and wife left at once for New York. There the Governor met Oakley and

Rawlings, and the three sold to Thos. Dunlap, a broker, 1,000 State bonds of $1,000 each, and to one Delafield 300 bonds of the same denomination, on such conditions as to result in ultimate loss to the State of over $150,000. They then proceeded to London where they were joined by Senator Young and wife. There the four commissioners sold and deposited with John Wright & Co., a firm of English sharpers, another million dollars of Illinois bonds, with no regard to secuity, or specific provisions of the law from which they derived their authority. The brilliant financiering of the four commissioners resulted in clear loss to the State of over half a million of dollars. While Oakley and Rawlings remained in London arranging details of their negotiations, one of the special commissioners with his wife rambled around to see the sights in England, then crossed the channel to the continent and visited Paris, Brussels, and other points of interest.[1]

The reports of Reynolds and Young were received by the called session of the eleventh assembly, convened on December 9, 1839, and referred, in the House, to a special committee, which, after careful consideration of all official acts of the junketers, submitted, on January 29, 1840, majority and minority reports. The majority report—adopted by a large majority of the House—"highly disapproved" of all the transactions of the commissioners; declared they "transcended the powers vested in them by the State;" also declared their "negotiation with John Wright & Co., of London, to be and is, void," and demanded return of the State bonds the junketers deposited with that firm for sale. In the preceeding pages of this sketch Governor Ford is quoted when citing Judge Richard M. Young, as "one of the many examples in our history of the forgiving disposition of the people" to their erring public servants. But the people of Illinois never forgave Reynolds and Young for their bungling failure as special fiscal agents of the State. From that ill-judged junket of the two statesmen dated the decline of their popularity. Occurring before the introduction of telegraphs, railroads and modern daily newspapers that now thoroughly ventilate such jobs, Governor Reynolds was reelected to Congress in the following August, and then permanently retired from further participation in national affairs.

Before the close of Judge Young's senatorial term the Democratic party had adopted the convention and caucus system for selection of candidates for office. When the time arrived for the thirteenth general assembly to choose a successor to Senator Young, the Democratic members met in caucus on December 9, 1842. Four candidates were presented for nomination, Young, Breese, Douglas and McClernand. "After a stormy session lasting from 7:00 o'clock p. m. to 1:00 o'clock a. m., on the nineteenth ballot Breese was successful by the narrow margin of one majority, he receiving 56 votes, Douglas 52, and McClernand 3."[2]

1 Only Governor Reynolds and wife went over to the continent. Senator Young remained in London until he concluded the negotiations with Wright & Co., about the last days of October, (1839), when he and his wife took passage for New York on the English ship British Queen commanded by Captain Roberts, who later was lost with all on board when crossing the Atlantic on the new ship President, in 1841.

2 Moses' History of Illinois, vol. I, p. 455.

After several ballots, with but little prospect for securing the nomination, Judge Young was induced to withdraw from the contest by promise of a place on the supreme bench. Governor Ford, upon his election, had resigned his judgeship; so also had Judge Theophilus W. Smith because of failing health, and Judge Breese also resigned immediately after his elevation to the Senate. Three associate justices of the Supreme court were then to be chosen by the legislature to supply vacancies. The two houses together proceeded with that election on January 14, 1843. General James Semple was elected to succeed Breese, Hon. John M. Robinson in place of Ford, and Richard M. Young to succeed Judge Smith, receiving 122 votes; 12 ballots were cast blank, and 8 scattering. He received his commission on the twenty-fifth of February, and at the expiration of his Senatorial term, on March 3, returned to Illinois to reenter the judiciary. Resuming the ermine he was assigned to the seventh judicial district which included Chicago.

Judge Young acquitted himself on the supreme bench with much credit. A critical comparison of his written opinions with those of the other distinguished Supreme court justices with whom he was associated while a member of that august tribunal proves him to have been a superior lawyer and judge. In 1843 he delivered four decisions of the court and one dissenting opinion; [1] in 1844 he wrote six decisions, one separate, and one dissenting opinions, [2] and in 1845 he delivered ten decisions, two separate, and two dissenting opinions. [3] Well and concisely written, they are all clear and accurate judicial statements supported by ample references and sound reasoning. His separate opinion, of twenty pages, in the celebrated case of Jarrott vs. Jarrott, delivered at the December 1845, term,[4] is remarkable for profound, far-reaching knowledge of the law, and of history involved in the questions before the court. The action, of assumpsit, was brought by Pete Jarrott, a French negro slave, against Mrs Julia Jarrott of Cahokia, who owned him, for services rendered. It was tried at the October 1843, term of the St. Clair county circuit court before Judge James Shields, and a jury that rendered a verdict for defendent, and was taken up to the supreme court on appeal by Lyman Trumbull and Wm. H. Underwood, plaintiff's attorneys. There the decision of the lower court was reversed. The court's opinion was delivered by Justice Walter B. Scates, with which Judge Young coincided, Justices Thomas, Treat and Shields dissenting. The case attracted wide spread attention and unusual public interest, as the decision of the Supreme court gave Pete Jarrott his freedom, and practically removed from the statutes the last vestige of authority for slavery in Illinois.

At the same term of the court, in the case of Rhinehart vs. Schuyler *et al.*, [5] brought from Adams county on appeal, Justice Young delivered the opinion of the court, covering 36 pages, in which his able

1 4th Scammon Reports.
2 1st Gilman Reports.
3 2d Gilman Reports.
4 2d Gilman, p. 12 *et seq.*
5 2d Gilman, p. 493 *et seq.*

review of the case tried in the lower court before Justice Thomas, in October, 1843, his familiarity with the law governing the points in controversy, and precedents cited, and the strong, clear arguments sustaining his conclusions, are not surpassed by any opinion emanating from that court.

In the month of July, 1845, he was chosen by Governor Ford an arbitrator on the part of the State, under an act of the Legislature, to settle a matter of difficulty between the State and the State Bank of Illinois; Judge Stephen T. Logan having been selected by the Bank, and succeeded in adjusting the matter in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Governor.

No opinion by Judge Young appears in the Reports for 1846, and by the records of the court it is seen that he was absent from several of its sessions that year. The truth is, he had become tired of judicial work. On failing to be reelected to the U. S. Senate he accepted the Supreme court Judgeship because nothing better was then accessible, and found its laborious obscurity in too marked contrast with the dazzling eminence of the Senate. He craved a public station of political prominence and conspicuous authority. When the term of Governor Ford was about to expire the Democrats held a convention, at Springfield, on February 10, 1846, to nominate a candidate of the party to succeed him. The aspirants before that convention for the nomination were two of the Supreme court Justices, R. M. Young and Walter B. Scates, Lyman Trumbull, John Calhoun, Augustus C. French and Alfred W. Cavarly. Upon the first ballot Trumbull led with 56 votes, to 45 for French, 44 for Calhoun, 35 for Young, 35 for Scates and 20 for Cavarly. On the third ballot "the choice—in accordance with a line of precedents, which seemed almost to indicate a settled policy—fell upon him who had achieved least prominence as a party leader, and whose record as a public man had been least conspicuous," [1] Augustus C. French.

When a member of the Senate a mutual friendship existed between Judge Young and Hon. James K. Polk, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, who was elected president in 1844. Having failed to secure the Democratic nomination for Governor, the Judge visited Washington later in 1846, when Congress was in session, presumably, to ascertain what might turn up there to his advantage. Hostilities with Mexico having commenced, he, no doubt, could—with the prestige of his early military experience as Ensign, Aide and Colonel of militia, and his fine soldierly figure and martial bearing—have obtained from the president a commanding position in the volunteer contingent of Illinois. But his aspirations were evidently not in that direction. In 1845 President Polk appointed James Shields, of Illinois, Commissioner of the General Land office, which he resigned in 1846 to accept a Brigadier General's commission in the Mexican war. The supplying of that vacancy was perhaps the only civil position, allotted to Illinois, the president then had at his disposal. It was

1 Moses' History of Illinois, Vol. 1. p. 505

offered to Judge Young, and by accepting it he committed the gravest mistake of his life. He was appointed Commissioner of the General Land office, to succeed General Shields, on January 6, 1847, and resigned his seat as one of the associate justices of the Illinois Supreme Court on the twenty-fifth of the same month, and immediately set out for Washington to enter upon the duties of his new office. Two days later, the twenty-seventh his vacancy on the supreme bench was supplied by election of Jesse B. Thomas, Jr.

Judge Young was a citizen of Quincy until late in 1849 when he moved his family to Washington, and never returned to reside in Illinois. The General Land office was at that time an integrant part of the Treasury department and one of the largest, and most arduous bureaus to manage in the government. The Judge seemed to have a natural predilection for that kind of work, and took its administration in hand with zeal and earnestness, giving to every detail of the business, and to the sixty clerks employed, his constant personal supervision. His annual report, submitted at the beginning of the year 1849, was evidence of the ability and thoroughness of his management of the government's land interests. It was a lengthy and elaborate document, characterized by unusual clearness in arrangement of details, remarkable for the sound sense and modesty of its author and valuable for its tabular statements of all public lands sold and in market of land and coast surveys, population, representation in Congress and other highly useful information, illustrated with numerous maps and diagrams. That report attracted much attention throughout the country, and received the flattering commendation of newspapers and public men of both parties.

In 1848 the Democratic party lost control of the government by the election of a Whig, General Zachary Taylor, to the presidency. In free and enlightened America no statutory mandate has greater force than that unwritten law of political parties, "to the victors belong the spoils." A change of administration necessarily implies a change of office holders, excepting now, the Civil Service class. In obedience to that law a sense of honor compels higher officials of the defeated party to present their resignations to the victors. But, Judge Young was so infatuated with the "pomp and panoply" of official position he not only did not resign, but—although a lifelong radical democrat—he made a strong effort to be retained as Commissioner of the General Land offices by a Whig president. He had some Whig support, as against Mr. Lincoln who was a candidate for the position, and who was generally endorsed by the Whig members of Congress. Young would have been re-appointed but for the fact that during the campaign he wrote a very severe article against General Taylor and sent it to all the newspapers in Illinois, and on the copy he sent to Quincy he stated at the bottom of the article in large letters, "I wrote this, R. M. Y." Browning got hold of the article and sent it to Lincoln, who showed it to General Taylor, that settled the pretentions of the Judge in that direction. Through the influence of Daniel Webster the land office was given to Justin Butterfield of Chicago. (Mss. of John Wentworth.)"[1]

1 Foot note on page 511, Vol. 1. Moses' History of Illinois.

The mania for office-holding is one of the most deplorable and pitiable forms of mental degeneracy. There are in Washington city at all times a number of political wrecks and derelicts—gray-haired, broken-down men, who once held high and responsible positions there, then dropped by the everchanging caprice of party favoritism, remained there in enchanted helplessness, reveling in memories of their former grandeur, or vainly hoping that another turn of the wheel of fortune may again restore them to public notice. Judge Young was unfortunately a victim of that mania. Otherwise he would have pursued the course of his successor in the Senate, Judge Sidney Breese. Stepping down from the Senate upon the Supreme Court bench of his State, he should have made a virtue of necessity, and remained there—a highly honorable station for which he was, by natural endowment and acquirements, eminently well fitted. Had he done so, in all probability he could have retained it—as Breese did—the balance of his life. Fascinated, however, by the illusory glitter and charm of life at the national capital, he descended from the bench a long step lower to the superintendency of a department bureau. Deposed from that transitory haven, he further descended to the clerkship of the thirty-first Congress, to which he was elected by the House of Representatives in December, 1849. Adjournment of the session in 1851 terminated his long and highly creditable official career. With no longer a salary to rely upon for subsistence, and having accumulated no productive property, he reached the bottom where necessity forced him to resume the struggle as he had commenced it in Johnson county, Illinois, thirty-four years before, by the practice of law. Combining with his profession a general claim agency, by diligence, aided by the prestige of his distinguished antecedents, he was fairly successful.

On February 26, 1842, he had been admitted to practice as an attorney and counsellor at law in the United States Supreme Court, having been presented to that high tribunal and recommended by Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury.

In stature Judge Young was six feet two inches in height, erect and well proportioned, weighing usually about 170 pounds. His forehead, high and broad, was surmounted by dark brown hair, and his large hazel-colored eyes were over-arched by heavy, dark eyebrows. With florid complexion, his features were prominent, regular and prepossessing, indicative of great good nature, absence of malice, matured judgment and perfect self-confidence. In disposition he was social, affable, and one of the kindest and most genial of men. Without the gift of flowery oratory, he was a strong, forcible speaker, and as a conversationalist could not be surpassed, having an exceedingly entertaining style of expression and a limitless store of anecdotes and apt illustrations always at his command. Though very friendly and easily approached by all, he could not tolerate undue familiarity, adhering all his life to the stately politeness and courtly manners of the old Virginia type of gentleman. It is related that in the early days of Quincy Orville H. Browning, then a budding young lawyer, had as a member of his household a younger brother, full of fun and

boyish mischief, who answered to the name of "Milt." On one occasion Milt knocked on the cabin door, and when Mrs. Browning opened it to welcome a supposed visitor, Milt, with his right hand over his heart, bowed low, in imitation of Judge Young, and then ran away. A few days later Mrs. Browning again heard a knock at the door, and thinking she recognized Milt's rap, not to be fooled again by him, cried out, "you go around to the back door; there is where you belong." Then, it occurring to her that she might be mistaken, opened the door, and to her surprise and confusion found the caller (in quest of Mr. Browning) to be Judge Young, who was very indignant at her reception, and with considerable hesitation accepted the profuse apologies and explanation she offered.

As a politician Judge Young was aggressive, fearless and honorable; always ready to contend for the policies and principles he believed to be right; never arrogant or personally abusive, and invariably extended to his opponents the respect and liberality he exacted for his views. As a judge he was dignified, self-possessed, patient and very courteous to the members of the bar, as also to the jurors, witnesses and litigants. Always punctual in attendance to public business, he never lost sight of the fact that he was the people's servant, and never slighted or neglected the trust they reposed in him. His judgments, emenating from much legal learning, good sense and sound reasoning, bore well the test of time and the closest scrutiny. His courts were always models of decorum and order. Very seldom he found it necessary to inflict penalties for contempt or misdemeanors in court. When he did the fine was usually remitted when the offender admitted his error and promised not to be guilty of it again. When compelled to enforce punishments he inquired into the standing and pecuniary circumstances of the culprit in order that the sentence he imposed might not be unjust or too oppressive.

In regard to personal habits the judge was temperate and moral, never indulging in the vices too common among his contemporaries and political associates. Of domestic tastes he was much attached to his home and his family, and enjoyed entertaining his friends, his house being famed for its frequent gay and festive social gatherings. For general literature, arts and poetry he had special fondness, and was very partial to music—boasting of some musical talent himself—occasionally producing some fine strains from an old fiddle he highly prized, which he bought in 1816 when a law student in Kentucky.

His views of the abstract principle of slavery can be inferred from the fact that all his early associations and impressions were formed amidst and influenced by the institution of slavery and that he was himself a slave holder so long as slavery was tolerated in Illinois. He never outgrew the strong, mutual attachment that existed in his boyhood days between the members of his father's household and their slaves, as is evidenced by the entry in his family record of the death of two faithful negro servants of his father's, known as "Uncle Ned" and "Aunt Dinah," both of whom were emancipated long before the Civil War. They both came to Illinois, but in 1850 Uncle Ned returned to the old homestead in Kentucky and died there. Judge Young never joined any church, and left no statement of his religious

belief. He was, however, a member of the Masonic order, having been initiated on April 20, 1829, into "Union Lodge No. 8," of that ancient fraternity.

From memoranda of his cases and clients, found among his papers, it is inferred the judge received liberal patronage from 1851 to 1859, and must have done a thriving business; for during that period he had employment, which probably was no doubt satisfactory in respect to remuneration. While so engaged, however, he was rapidly passing out of public notice. In the ever recurring mutations of public affairs in Illinois new men were crowding to the front, while Judge Young—for thirty years a conspicious factor in its political life—no longer in view, was then simply a historic figure. The passing of his prominence and importance was galling to one of his sensitive nature and self-esteem. He knew the fate of politicians when their course is run, and well knew his inability to perform the miracle necessary to restore his lost prestige and power. Brooding over his blighted ambition and lost opportunities, his business troubles and unpromising future preyed upon his mind and nervous system until finally his health failed and his bright mental faculties became clouded. In the fall of 1858, when perplexed and overtaxed by a case involving peculiarly intricate legal questions, his reason tottered and he was forced to retire from further activity. With the best medical skill at hand and the constant kind attention of his family—particularly the faithful care of his son-in-law, Robert A. Matthews, the year 1849 passed without perceptible improvement in his condition. By advice of his physician, he was taken on April 17, 1860 to the Government Hospital for the Insane, in Washington, for treatment. He had passed so completely out of public thought and public observation that nothing was known in Illinois, and nothing was recorded at Washington, of the closing days of his life. The published histories of our State contain but brief and unsatisfactory biographical sketches of Judge Young and his public career, vaguely mentioning his death occurring "in an insane asylum in 1853."[1] Newspaper writers have stated that "he was confined in the dungeon of a Washington insane asylum, a raving maniac, part of the time restrained by chains and manacles." Balance says: "But for some time before his death he was confined in an asylum for maniacs. Of his last days I will not speak, because of them I know nothing, only as I have been informed by a brother of his, since he has passed away. If his story is true, Judge Young, who was once one of the most popular men in Illinois, passed many a day and night in a dungeon, under the torturing hands of fiends in human shape, in the great capital of the nation; and yet for a long time so secretly that a brother, living in that city, had no suspicion of it."[2]

Ascertaining that Dr. W. A. White is the present superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington, a letter of inquiry regarding the truth of above statements, addressed to him last winter, by the writer, was courteously answered by him as follows:

"DEAR SIR—I beg to inform you, in response to your letter of the 12th inst., that the records of the hospital show that Hon. Richard M. Young was under

1 Moses' History of Illinois, vol. I, footnote on page 511.
2 History of Peoria by C. Balance, pp. 64, 65.

medical treatment for a mental affection from April 17, 1860, to October 15, 1860. Having recovered he was discharged from treatment upon the date last mentioned. The records are silent as to the existence of violent mental disturbance; and it can be taken for granted that the rumor that he was "confined in chains in a dungeon" was without foundation in fact—the hospital being without either of those accessories. I have no knowledge of Judge Young's career subsequent to his discharge from the hospital. Your letter states that it was understood that he "died in the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington in 1853." As mentioned above he was discharged — cured—in 1860; and as a matter of fact, no patients were received into the hospital prior to 1855.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"WM. A. WHITE, Superintendent."

Rest and medical treatment at the hospital for six months restored the quietude of Judge Young's mind and nervous system, but he never regained his former spirits and animation. He was, in fact, a mental and physical wreck. At his home he remained secluded during the winter of 1860-61, a semi-invalid incapable of much exertion either of mind or body. The stirring events of 1861 excited his interest, at times arousing his patriotic devotion to the land of his birth and the cause for which it was contending. But the fires of youth were burned out, and only the smouldering embers remained to be momentarily and feebly rekindled. With advance of summer and advent of autumn his vitality continued to fail; he grew weaker until finally he died from exhaustion on November 28, 1861, at the age of 63 years, 9 months and 8 days. He was buried in the Congressional cemetery at Washington.

Judge Young's thoughts were never centered for any length of time on money making. Not a financier, and content with the salary he drew, or ordinary pay received for his legal services, he expended it all for the comfort and well-being of his family, and entertainment of his friends, neglecting many favorable opportunities for accumulating riches. Balance, who knew him well, says: "He lived and died poor; but had he lived until now (1870), and held on to certain property which has been sold by his wife since his death, he would be rich. One piece of propertywhich he obtained in Omaha as a fee, is said to be worth many thousand dollars." [1]

By his last will and testament Judge Young devised "all of his property, real, personal and mixed, wheresoever situated," to his wife, Matilda. They had but two children, both daughters; one named Matilda James, and the other Berenice Adelaide, whose date of birth and place where born cannot now be ascertained. Matilda James Young was married to Robert A. Matthews at Washington, D. C., on June 29, 1852, and died without issue at Talbotton, in Talbott county, Georgia, on September 24, 1872.

Berenice Adelaide Young was married to John A. Crawford, at Washington, D. C., in 1857, and died at Richmond, Virginia, on January 19, 1862, leaving but one child that also died within two months thereafter. Mrs. Matilda, widow of Judge Young, departed this life at Washington, D. C., on January 31, 1871, and was buried by the

1 History of Peoria, by C. Ballance, 1870, p. 65.

side of her deceased husband, in the Congressional Cemetery there. She left a will bequeathing all her property to her son-in-law, Robert A. Matthews, who during the Civil war was a major in the Confederate service. The name of Robert A. Matthews appears on the roll of attorneys practicing in the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1845.

PART IV.

# OBITUARY RECORD

OF

## Some Eminent Illinoisans

1906.

1. GEORGE SCHNEIDER.
2. HENRY L. BOLTWOOD.
3. HARVEY B. HURD.
4. JOHN H. MULKEY.

GEORGE SCHNEIDER.

## 1. GEORGE SCHNEIDER.

(By Paul Selby.)

The passing away, within the last few months, of the late George Schneider of Chicago, marked the termination of the career of a man who for more than half a century had occupied a conspicuous position in the history of Illinois, first as a journalist, then as a public official by appointment of President Lincoln, and finally as a financier of the metropolis of the Northwest.

Born in Pirmasens, Rhenish-Bavaria, December 13, 1823, the son of Ludwig Schneider, a gentleman of the middle rank and a public official of his native country, Mr. Schneider recieved his education in a Latin school in his native place and, at the age of twenty-one, engaged in journalism, writing at various times for different German newspapers. With a strong predilection for free government, promoted by a liberal education and his connection with the discussion of public questions as a journalist, in common with such men as Carl Schurz, General Franz Siegel, Colonel Frederick Hecker, and many others who later became prominent citizens of the United States, the year 1848 found him in strong sympathy with the demand for a constitutional government then stirring the people in many of the German provinces, as well as in France and Austria. At the age of twenty-five he threw himself with patriotic zeal into this movement, being trusted with an official position in the ranks of the revolutionists. Although this was before the days of the consolidation of the German Empire, the aid given to the Bavarian autocracy by Prussia, resulted in the speedy crushing out of the reform movement. Withdrawing first into Baden and later taking refuge in France, in common with many of his compatriots, Mr. Schneider soon found it necessary to insure his personal safety by coming to the United States.

Arriving in New York in July, 1849, he soon found his way to Cleveland, Ohio, where he spent a short time in search of employment without success. Then proceeding to St. Louis, Mo,, in company with a brother who was also an exile from his native land, he established a paper called the "Neue Zeit" (New Time), which was devoted to the free discussion of questions of interest to the large German population of that city, including the question of slavery, to which a large majority of them were strongly opposed. During the following year the office of this paper was destroyed by fire, and for the next

few months Mr. Schneider occupied a position as a professor of foreign languages and literature in a college in the vicinity of St. Louis. During the next year he relinquished this position and coming to Chicago on the 28th of August, 1851, entered upon his duties as editor of the "Illinois Staats-Zeitung," which had been established some four years previous; with which he remained over ten years, in 1852 becoming the proprietor of a half interest in the paper.

It was during his connection with the "Staats-Zeitung" that the contest over the slavery question was precipitated by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a consequence of the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, and under Mr. Schneider's management the paper took strong ground on this issue—in fact, with the exception of the "Western Citizen," an avowed anti-slavery weekly journal, was the first paper in Chicago to array itself in absolute opposition to this measure. In the latter part of January, 1854, while the act was still pending in Congress, Mr. Schneider had the credit of calling the first popular meeting held in Chicago to give utterance to the sentiments of the people in opposition to opening the door for the extension of slavery into territory that had been dedicated to freedom. While the paper and its managers were threatened with mob violence. the preparation made by Mr. Schneider and his assistants had the effect of restraining the spirit of mobocracy and protecting the city from the disgrace of lawless violence. It is but just to the memory of Mr. Schneider to say that the attitude then taken by a large majority of the German population of the Northwest, in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and their subsequent attitude in loyal support of the Government during the Civil war, was due to a larger extent to the influence and teaching of the paper of which he was the controlling spirit than to any other single factor.

It was during this period that the first steps were taken in the organization of the Republican party in Illinois, and in this movement, as was naturally to be expected, Mr. Schneider became an active and influential figure. At the meeting of the Anti-Nebraska editors, held at Decatur on February 22, 1856, which resulted in crystalizing the elements which had been in course of evolution during the preceding two years, he was present and, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, bore a conspicuous part in giving shape to the principles of the new party which, in its first regular State Convention held in Bloomington, three months later—but appointed by that little gathering of a dozen editors—nominated the ticket headed by William H. Bissell for Governor, which was elected in November following. It was chiefly through his influence, backed by the approval of Abraham Lincoln, that a resolution was adopted at the Decatur conference favoring tolerance of religious faith and freedom of conscience, as opposed to the principles of the Know-Nothing party, and these sentiments were echoed in the platform adopted at Bloomington in May following, and still later reiterated by the first Republican National Convention held in Philadelphia on the 17th of June—in both of which Mr. Schneider was a delegate.

It was at the Editorial Convention at Decatur that I first came in

contact with Mr. Schneider, but during a subsequent period of nearly fifty years, I was accustomed to meet him frequently and, by personal acquaintance, learned to entertain a high regard for his intelligence, his public spirit and his patriotism. He took a prominent part in calling the first public meeting held in Chicago in 1861, to sustain the Government in its opposition to the rebellion, then in its incipient stage, and his service was recognized by Mr. Lincoln in his appointment as Consul-General at Elisnore, Denmark, where he rendered the country valuable service by imparting to the Danish people an accurate knowledge of the real issue between the Government and the Confederacy. Returning from Denmark a year later, he then sold out his half-interest in the "Staats-Zeitung," of which he had become the proprietor ten years earlier. This step was taken to enable him to accept the first appointment as Collector of Internal Revenue for the Chicago district, which he held for four years, when he accepted the position of President of the State Savings Institution. In 1871, having sold out his interest in the Savings Institution, he became President of the National Bank of Illinois, for more than twenty-five years one of the strongest financial institutions in Chicago. In the meantime, in 1877, he received from President Hayes, the nomination as Minister to Switzerland, which he declined for personal and business reasons; was also Presidential Elector for the State-at-large in 1880. His political prominence is indicated by the fact that, for many years, he was a member of the Republican State Central Committee, during much of that time serving as Treasurer of the Committee. Although retired from newspaper business in 1862, he continued to maintain his connection with the Chicago Press Association as a life member, for some fourteen years (1877-91) serving as Treasurer of the Association and, in times of financial stress, contributing freely to its support. His service was recognized in a memorial meeting held in his honor by the Club, a few days after his death in September last.

After he had spent over twenty-five years of his life as President of the Illinois National Bank, that institution was overtaken by disaster, largely through the mismanagement of others, in the last days of December, 1896, and forced to go into liquidation. This was a severe blow to Mr. Schneider, as it not only resulted in heavy pecuniary loss to himself, but wiped out of existence an institution which he had spent more than a quarter of a century in building up, and which he had hoped to leave as a monument to his business enterprise. Saddened by this event, the later years of his life were spent in practical retirement, much of it with one of his daughters in Kansas City, at a distance from the scenes which had been familiar to him for nearly half a century. While seeking recuperation of his health at Colorado Springs, Colo., death came to him on the 14th of September, 1905, and a few days later he was laid to rest with impressive ceremonies in Rose Hill Cemetery, Chicago, a large number of his countrymen taking part in the honors paid to his memory.

## 2. HENRY L. BOLTWOOD—AN APPRECIATION BY ONE OF HIS PUPILS.

(By J. O. Leslie.)

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For many years there has hung in the Principal's office of the Ottawa Township High School, an excellent portrait of Henry L. Boltwood, the subject of this appreciation; and often it has been a source of cheer and inspiration to the writer, calling up, as it always does, the long and significant career of him whom we are accustomed to call the "Father of the Township High School."

The Princeton township high school was established in 1867, and Mr. Boltwood was its first principal. He was especially fortunate both in the time at which he became principal of this, the first township high school in Illinois, and also in the town in which the school was located. He began his work in 1867, but two years after the close of the Civil War in which he had taken part, and just at the close of what has sometimes been called the second pioneer period of Northern Illinois. The days of danger and stern privation of the early '30's were past, but by no means the days of the "strenuous life."

Bureau county, of which Princeton is the capital, was well settled, but its farmer population was still engaged in an absorbing struggle to overcome the newness of the prairie, to make passable roads, build comfortable houses, establish churches and schools, and win a modest competence from the fertile soil. In this struggle the fathers had already reached or passed middle life; the sons were sturdy young men, willing to work and ambitious to lay hold of whatever advantage might come within reach. Princeton was a thriving town of some 3,000 souls and already had a reputation for culture and refinement. To his pupils his remarkable memory was a cause of wonder and sometimes of discouragement, because it was so hard for them to do that which to him seemed so easy. He was, however, never unreasonable in his requirements, and seemed to realize the limitations of the ordinary child in this as well as in other respects.

His relations with his pupils seemed to me free from constraint. I do not remember that I was at all afraid of him or that I stood in any special awe of him, though I have heard others say that they did. He used to mingle freely with us in our play, taking all the chances

of the game just like any boy. Many and many a game of the old time, civilized, association foot ball have I played with him. I regard it as a great misfortune to a school to be so located that teachers cannot go out informally and play with the boys, just as he and other teachers used to within the early days of the Princeton high school. He was very kind to anyone needing help of any kind, and many a pupil is under lasting obligation to him, not only for the general inspiration of his teaching, but also for judicious advice and help.

In his general management of the school he was a leader rather than a driver. He attended very thoroughly to what was especially his own work, and he expected others to do likewise with theirs. His conduct of the Princeton high school soon placed it in the very front rank of similar schools in Illinois, or, in fact, anywhere. From the very first it had a reputation for thorough instruction in all branches, but especially so in literature and history. An excellent reference library was provided and pupils were taught how to use it. To this work he gave an impulse felt throughout the whole State. Beginning in 1867, with an attendance of about one hundred, the Princeton school grew until it numbered three hundred, one third of which came from the country at large, and even from outside counties. At one time one-third of the teachers of Bureau county had received their training in the Princeton high school.

It is interesting in looking back to recall what he said about the conditions prevailing at Princeton at the founding of the school, and also what some of his friends said of him. "I commenced the work hopefully," said he, "it was the first regular high school which the town had ever had. The pupils averaged older than is common in towns where the high school has been long established. Never did pupils work more honestly and more cordially than those who passed the first entrance examination. The discipline of the school hardly cost a thought. It was an honest, hard-working, self-regulating school because the pupils were indeed earnest. The first graduating class gave character to the school for years. Their honorable record since graduating tells their story." I am sometimes asked, "could the success of the Princeton high school be repeated in any other town of its size,' and I answer emphatically, no, I know of no other town of its kind."

Says one of his graduates—"Without reflection upon others, no graduate of the first regime can pass by an opportunity to pay tribute to him who first 'put his hand to the plough.' We admired his comprehensive knowledge. His nervous energy was caught as an inspiration by all. He gave us the best work of the prime of an always progressive life, and not only does our school owe to him the reputation it early achieved, but everyone who came under his influence bears his lasting impress."

After eleven years of successful work in Princeton, Mr. Boltwood was elected first principal of the Ottawa township high school. Here he repeated in some measure the work done in Princeton. Though he remained in Ottawa but four years, he still impressed upon the community in a marked degree his idea of what a good high school should be.

It had, like many another town of that early day, one or two private academies that were doing what they could in an educational way, and it had an unusually large number of citizens who took a serious interest in the educational concerns of the community. Those at all familiar with Princeton forty years ago will recall at once the Bryants, Paddocks, Richardsons, Ferrises, Rev. Flavel Bascom, pastor of the Congregational Church, Rev. Albert Ethridge, County Superintendent of Schools and Principal of the Dover Academy, and many another.

It was at such a time, and to such a county and town and among such men, ambitious to make a great success of their new educational idea, the township high school, that Mr. Boltwood came in the pleasant fall of 1867, now almost forty years ago. If, as before said, he was fortunate in the town to which he came, the town was certainly fortunate in him. He was then thirty-six years old, alert, vigorous, trained in Amherst College in the best learning then thought worthy of pursuit, with a rich experience in practical affairs, he was certainly the man for the place. This was true not only of the detailed work of the school room, with which he was very familiar, but also of his broader work in the city, and the county, and ere long in the State at large.

In the school room he was especially alert and interesting, drawing without the slightest hesitation on his very extensive knowledge of literature and history and making the recitation as entertaining as it was instructive. To us the wonder was how he could remember so much. All the treasures of the past seemed, to us at least, to be at his instant command In this respect what was true in the school room was equally true outside. I remember one exceptionally stormy night ride from Tiskilwa to Princeton in which he kept his fellow sufferers from thinking of their discomfort by repeating poem after poem of the most spirited character. Two of them I still recall, after a period of full thirty years.

In 1883 he was called to the first principalship of the township high school just established in Evanston, and in this fine suburb of Chicago, surrounded by the atmosphere of a great university, he built up a great high school, known wherever its graduates have gone as one of the best high schools in the whole country. Here the writer often visited him, and though he was now much older grown, and though life, especially since the death of his son, Charles, had taken on a more serious tone, he was still full of the same divine love of learning, of plain living, and high thinking that characterized his earlier years. Under his direction the Evanston school grew and prospered as had the other schools with which he had been connected. Here, while still in active service, he was suddenly called home.

This brief remembrance may well close with loving tributes of his friends as they gathered in the old school assembly room from whence he was borne to his rest: "And so as I have said, he was a truly great man, a Christian man, a man of scrupulous integrity, and wide benevolence, a patriotic man, who bore into the young lives about him the treasures of his own life." This was the testimony of his pastor, Dr. Loba.

"Mr. Boltwood was the living example of the kind of teacher who, through association with the young, and the constant touch of young life, retains perrennial youth himself. He kept his youth up to the last day he taught, and with the close of the school day, with a life full of years and successes he laid down his work with the consciousness that thousands of lives had been made richer by what he had been able to do for them." These were the words of Superintendent Kingsley, who, together with Mr. Boltwood, had cared for the public schools of Evanston for more than twenty years.

The following is the tribute of one of his pupils; "'As one lamp lights another, nor grows less, so nobleness enkindleth nobleness.' The rich, full life of our old teacher thus acted upon each succeeding generation of those who had sat at his feet to learn, not only the lessons of the books, but of life itself."

Certainly his was a great, a rich and a full life. It was great in noble ideals and in service, rich in its power for good, and full of years and honors.

## 2. HON. HARVEY B. HURD.

Harvey B. Hurd, the veteran attorney, who has been prominently identified with the advancement of Chicago and its interests for many years, died January 20, 1906 at his home in Evanston.

Mr. Hurd has been in failing health for a year past. Until recently, however, he came regularly to his office in the city and spent a portion of the day in the transaction of business, Christmas day he suffered a stroke of paralysis. He rallied from this and for a time it was hoped that his life might be spared, but he steadily failed and all hope of his recovery was abandoned.

Harvey B. Hurd was born in Huntington, Fairfield county, Connecticut, February 14, 1828, and was a son of Alanson Hurd, who was of English descent. His mother was of Dutch and Irish lineage. Until he was fifteen years of age he spent the summer months in work upon his father's farm, while in the winter season he attended school. On May 1, 1842, Mr. Hurd bade adieu to his parents and journeyed on foot to Bridgeport, where he became an apprentice in the office of the Bridgeport Standard, a Whig newspaper. With a company of ten young men, in the autumn of 1844, he emigrated to Illinois and became a student in Jubilee College, Peoria county, where he remained a year. After trying unsuccessfully to secure employment in Peoria, he took passage on a baggage stage for Chicago, where in the office of the Evening Journal he soon obtained work. This paper was then published by Wilson & Geer. He afterward was employed on the Prairie Farmer, and in the fall of 1847 began studying law in the office of Calvin De Wolf. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar, and formed a partnership with Carlos Haven.

His next partner was Henry Snapp, and from 1850 until 1854 he was a partner of Andrew J. Brown. This latter firm had large transactions in real estate, and owned two hundred and forty acres of land, which was platted as a part of the village of Evanston. In the summer of 1854 Mr. Hurd began the erection of his beautiful home in Evanston, in which he lived the remainder of his life. He was the first president of the Village Board of this suburb.

Mr. Hurd was an ardent abolitionist and took an active part in the stirring events which occurred in Chicago before and after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He was a member of the convention which met in Buffalo, N. Y., at which a national committee was formed to aid, arm and protect the northern settlers in Kansas and became secretary of its executive committee with headquarters in Chicago.

In 1856, Kansas crops proved a failure, owing to the depredations of the contending factions. In anticipation of a lack of seeds for the planting in the coming spring, the committee in New York in February, 1857, passed a resolution instructing the executive committee in Chicago to purchase and forward the necessary seeds, and at the same time appropriated $5,000 to aid John Brown in the organization and equipment of the free-soil settlers into companies for self-protection Mr. Hurd found on returning to Chicago that the funds in the hands of the treasurer were not sufficient to meet both requirements. He therefore decided to buy and send on the seeds. When Brown applied for the money appropriated to him, he found the treasury of the committee empty. At first Gerritt Smith and other friends of Brown were inclined to find fault with the action of Mr. Hurd, but when the steamer with the seeds arrived at Lawrence, Kansas, the settlers were overjoyed, and the wisdom of Mr. Hurd's course was amply vindicated. The settlers would have been obliged to leave Kansas had not this timely provisions for a crop been made.

When John Brown was in Chicago, after he left Kansas, and a price was put on his head, he was concealed in the house of John Jones, a negro county commissioner, who had been a slave. Brown's clothes were so dilapidated that they were unfit for wear, but he dare not go down town to be measured for a new suit, for fear he would be captured. Mr. Hurd, being about his size, went down and was measured for a suit for Brown. Mr. Hurd frequently remarked that he was glad he was not in the suit when Brown was hung.

In 1862 Mr. Hurd formed a partnership with Hon. Henry Booth, and at the same time accepted the position of lecturer in the law department of the University of Chicago. In 1868 the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Hurd retiring from active practice. In April, 1869, he was appointed by Gov. John M. Palmer one of three commissioners to revise and rewrite the General Statutes of the State of Illinois. His colleagues soon withdrew, leaving the burden of the work upon Mr. Hurd. He completed his task with the adjournment of the Twenty-eight General Assembly in April, 1874, and was appointed by that body to edit and supervise the publication, which he accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the general public, and today "Hurd's Statutes" stand as a monument to his memory. He had not only to compile into one homogeneous whole the various laws which from time to time had been enacted by the legislature, but to adapt them to the new State Constitution of 1870, discarding old provisions which were in conflict with it and constructing new ones in conformity with it. Mr. Hurd has been called upon to edit seventeen editions since.

In 1876 Mr. Hurd was again elected to a chair in the law school which had become the Union College of Law of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, retaining his position when the institution later became the law department of Northwestern University. This academic work was very congenial to him and he was eminently successful as a teacher. Clear cut and logical he had the rare faculty of imparting his knowledge and giving his students a thorough understanding of the principles of law.

Mr. Hurd has the credit of being the father of the new drainage system of Chicago. While he did not first suggest such a channel he was, without doubt, the author of the plan of creating a municipal district of the city of Chicago—the Chicago Sanitary District—and getting it adopted. He was the author of the first bill on the subject introduced into the Legislature in 1886, known as the Hurd Bill which resulted in a legislative commission to investigate further the subject and present a bill. The bill, reported by that commission, passed in 1887, although it differed in some respects from the original Hurd bill, was in the main the same.

For several years Mr. Hurd was at the head of the Committee of Law Reform of the Illinois State Bar Association and was the author of many able reports. One of these reports resulted in the General Assembly creating a commission to consider the matter of the transfers of title. Mr. Hurd was chairman of that commission and in the report of December 10, 1892, the commission recommended a system of registering titles substantially embodying the essential principles of the Australian or Torrens system. The bill which was written by Mr. Hurd became the basis of bills for the adoption of the system in many of the states in the United States. In 1897 the Illinois legislature passed the act for the registering of land titles which is now in our statutes.

Because of his comprehensive knowledge Mr. Hurd's advice was widely sought by committees interested in securing changes in the law, and no one can estimate the time and thought that he generously gave to this public service.

Mr. Hurd was one of the pioneer promoters of the Children's Aid Society of Chicago, and throughout his long and useful life was constantly endeavoring to call public attention to the need of preventive work among the young. He was one of the sponsors of the Juvenile Court bill and took a deep interest in its administration.

In May, 1853, Mr. Hurd married Miss Cornelia A., daughter of the late Capt. James Hilliard, of Middletown, Conn. Three daughters were born to them; Eda, wife of George S. Lord; Hettie who died in 1884 and Nellie, wife of John A. Comstock. Some years after the death of his first wife, Mr. Hurd wedded Mrs. Sarah Collins, widow of the late George Collins. She died in 1890 and in July, 1892, he married Mrs. Susanna Van Wyck, a lady highly esteemed in social circles in Chicago and Evanston, who died recently.

## 4. ALEXANDER COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT—STATE OF ILLINOIS.

OCTOBER TERM, A. D. 1905.

*Commemorative of the Hon. John H. Mulkey, Deceased.*

SATURDAY, Oct. 14, 1905.

MAY IT PLEASE THE COURT—

Your committee appointed at the last term of this court to prepare and present resolutions commemorative of the life and work of the Honorable John H. Mulkey, deceased, would respectfully report as follows:

Judge Mulkey having been so long a resident with us here in Cairo, we have deemed it fitting and proper to present at the beginning a short biographical sketch of his life.

Judge Mulkey's ancestors were Scotch-Irish people. One of them came to one of the Carolinas about the middle of the eighteenth century. He shortly afterwards married a woman whose acquaintance he had made on his voyage to America. Some of the children of this family came northward and westward and settled in Tennessee and Kentucky. One of these was Judge Mulkey's grandfather, John Mulkey, who was born January 14, 1773, and died December 13, 1844. He came to Monroe county, Kentucky, at an early day. One of his sons was Isaac Mulkey, who married Abigail Ragen, December 18, 1821, in Monroe county. They had nine children, John H. Mulkey being the second one of them. He was born in Monroe county, Ky., May 24, 1824. Monroe county is on the Tennessee line directly south of Louisville and about sixty miles northeast of Nashville. The family remained in that county until a few years after the birth of this son when they moved to LaFayette, a town in Christian county, Kentucky, about one hundred miles west of their former home. Here his father, Dr. Isaac Mulkey, practiced his profession, and his son John for a considerable time attended Bacon college at Hopkinsville, the county seat, where he acquired a fair knowledge of the Latin language along with the other branches of study which he carried on.

We know very little of his earlier years spent in Kentucky; but in August, 1845, very soon after he became twenty-one years of age, he visited Southern Illinois in search of employment as a school teacher. He passed Vienna and Marion in Johnson and Williamson counties

and found a school at or near Benton, in Franklin county, which he taught for a time. It was, no doubt, through his influence that his father left Kentucky in 1848 and came to Illinois where his son was. His father soon removed to Ashley, in Washington county, where he died in 1884. Judge Mulkey remained at Benton, in Franklin county, and in adjoining counties, some times teaching school and sometimes farming and at other times engaged in selling goods and dealing and trading in stock; and all the time, no doubt, having his eye steadily fixed upon the profession and practice of the law. If in the later years of a man's life, we can get a fairly clear view of what his earlier life was, we would say of Judge Mulkey that in those years of his life when Franklin and Williamson counties were chiefly the scenes of his work and employment, there was exhibited in his conduct and language that same tenacity of purpose that so characterized him when he had come to the full maturity of his powers.

He was married at Benton March 23, 1846, to Margaret Cantrell, a daughter of Larkin Cantrell, of that place. He enlisted in the army in the war with Mexico, at Benton, July 18, 1847, and received his discharge from the service in July, 1848. He was chosen Sergeant on his enlistment, and April 4, 1848, became 2d Lieutenant of Company K, of the 2d Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers.

After his return from the army, he took up the study of the law, but at the same time teaching school and engaging in other work. No one but the young man who has passed through such an experience knows or can know what it is. The purpose to go into this or that profession is often greatly shaken and often turned aside by the pressing needs of earning one's living. He studied law at Marion with Judge William J. Allen, who, though a younger man, was somewhat in advance of him in admission to the bar and in the practice. He was examined for admission to the bar by Judge Willis Allen, the father of Judge Allen, and received his license to practice law in the year 1853.

He began to practice at Marion, and lived and practiced awhile at DeSoto, in Jackson county; and in 1857 he came to Cairo where he remained until June, 1858, when the destructive floods occurred which so discouraged a great many people that they left the town. Among these was Judge Mulkey, who went to DuQuoin, where he remained for a short time. He returned to Cairo probably in 1860, for he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of this City in June, 1861, to succeed General Isham N. Haynie, who had become Adjutant General of the State. He was again elected Judge of this same court in June, 1867, and held that position until the court was discontinued by the Legislature February 18, 1869. He was also elected Judge of the Circuit Court in April 1864, to succeed Judge Alexander M. Jenkins who had died. He held the position of circuit judge until some time in September or October, 1865, when he resigned and was succeeded by Judge William H. Green. He was, therefore judge of the Court of Common Pleas almost eight years, and judge of the Circuit Court about a year and a half. While in Cairo he was a member of the firm of Mulkey, Wall & Wheeler, and at a later date he was, for a

short time, the senior member of the firm of Mulkey, Linegar & Lansden. In order book B of the Court of Common Pleas, page 259, and in order book D of the circuit court, page 391, will be found recorded two of the commissions issued to Judge Mulkey by Governor Richard Yates, and his oaths of office.

He became a candidate for judge of the Supreme Court for this district and was elected to that position on the 2nd day of June, 1879, which position he held for the nine succeeding years, ending in 1888. He took his seat upon the bench at the June term of court, 1879 at Mt. Vernon. Shortly after this his health seeming to require it, he visited Carlsbad where he remained a number of months. He returned very much improved in health, and taking his place upon the bench, he remained there until the close of his term which was with the March term of court, 1888.

It was therefore from 1853 to 1888, a period of 35 years, that he was almost all the time engaged in the practice of law or in the discharge of his judicial duties upon the bench. About half of that time he was engaged exclusively in the practice of the law. With some of us, it would seem difficult perhaps, to decide whether he was best adapted to practice at the bar or to the discharge of the duties pertaining to high judicial positions. But in the judgment of your committee, Judge Mulkey was in his best and most appropriate place when presiding as judge of a court. The duties of the two positions are widely separate. The lawyer is employed to obtain a decision for the side he represents. The judge sits upon the bench solely for the purpose of deciding which one of the litigants is in the right and entitled to the judgment of the court in his favor. The duties these different positions impose are so unlike that they forbid comparison. It must be true that years spent in these different positions will stamp upon the men who occupy them such mental characteristics and habits of thought as will, to some extent, disqualify the one for the discharge, in the best way, of the duties of the other. Hence, it is often found that some of the best lawyers fail to make the best judges, and sometimes fail to make even good judges.

This is a somewhat lengthy biographical sketch for such a paper as this, and forbids our taking the time we would like to take in an attempt to set forth properly the character and standing of the man whose memory we now commemorate.

It has long been said that poets are born, not made. In a limited sense this is true of great lawyers and great judges. Judge Mulkey was both. It was not necessary that he should have been born in some far off state or have lived and practiced and presided as judge in some great city. Greatness is not confined to place or time. Work, study and application will accomplish wonderful results, but to attain to high position at the bar or on the bench there must be found those great natural gifts without which great prominence is seldom obtained. Judge Mulkey was a student but perhaps not a great one. He had not the need of it like the most of us; and yet no word ever came from him that would encourage any young man to

rely on his natural talents and gifts. His three words to him would have been work, work, work.

Judge Mulkey's reasoning powers were of the highest order. Whatever the work in hand was, the same careful, clear and satisfactory method of procedure was followed, analyzing and putting together, step by step, until the conclusion was reached. He was not the readiest of men to formulate an answer to a subtile and sophistical argument, but he would at once instinctively see that it was in some way unsound, and soon its error would be made as clear as noonday by his matchless analysis. To many persons he seemed to proceed slowly, but it was his great caution to avoid any weak place in the chain of the argument, because he felt more than most men do, that the final result depends wholly on your absolute assurance that every step taken must be a safe one and every link forged a perfectly sound one. He was never satisfied until he got to the very bottom and felt his feet standing on the solid rock. Some of us have seen him when his side of the case had no solid rock or bottom to stand on, for such was his lot sometimes as it is of every lawyer. In such cases, he would fight on to the last, but it was generally seen that his heart was no longer in it.

There was no department or branch of the law with which he had to deal in which he did not show his great talents and knowledge. He had few superiors anywhere in the intricate system of our English common law pleading and practice. Few of us can now realize what the mastery of that system meant or signified. Nor can we say less of him when we speak of our old English system of chancery or Equity pleading and practice. Unlike as those systems were and are they were and are great fountains of legal procedure, from which one could draw for a life time and yet not exhaust them.

In all the branches of the law of real estate, especially in those relating to remainders, uses and trusts, he possessed a knowledge equalled by few in our country. Recent statutory enactments have introduced so many modifications that less of this subtile and abstruse learning is now required, but it was once a great field of law, and Judge Mulkey had worked that field faithfully and well.

No matter what the branch of law was which was being explored, if it were more or less new to him, he invariably would venture little about it until he had time and opportunity to explore it fully and carefully. He had a profound sense of the length and the breadth and the height and the depth of the great ocean of law, and he felt, more than most lawyers and judges, the folly of attempting to deal with any part of it without fully realizing the nature of the undertaking.

Judge Mulkey was a good trial lawyer, not perhaps so quick and alert as some are, but taking his time and going on in that careful and safe manner that always promises the best, because the surest, results. He always took his time in making an argument—he would not be hurried. He always impressed the jury with his fairness. He turned over the case to them and let them view it in all its parts and phases, giving plain and common sense illustrations, suited to their

limited knowledge of the law. He made no attempt to win them over by eloquent speech, but now and then he would avail of a striking little story, so apt and forceful that everyone could see how much he had gained by its introduction into his argument. While before the jury as before the court, he was an able and impressive lawyer, yet it remains still to be said that back of all that he said or did was that strong personality, nature's own gift, which somehow seemed to project itself into the minds of those whom he was addressing and cause them to see the case just as he saw it. This was indeed one of the most striking features of his character—perhaps the most striking. It is sometimes called will power; but whatever it may be called, it was beyond question one of the chief things felt and feared by opposing counsel in their great contests at the bar.

This personality or will power of which we have just spoken, no doubt manifested itself in the Supreme Court quite as much as it did anywhere else. It was his personality and it could not be laid aside or put off as might a garment.

Judge Mulkey's active duties upon the Supreme bench extended over a period of about eight years, taking out the time he was absent on account of poor health. He wrote about four hundred opinions, besides a few dissenting opinions. This would make about fifty opinions for each year of the eight. This does not seem like a large number, but we must not forget the work and labor he bestowed in the study of the thousands of other cases in which the six other judges wrote. Besides, in the cases in which he wrote there were seventy-two of them in which one and sometimes two or three judges dissented. This shows how the cases must have been investigated and studied before their final disposition. We have not time to refer to particular cases, but will say that the very short concurring opinion written by him in that most celebrated Anarchists' case in the 122d volume of our reports attracted wide attention and was greatly commended by many of the great leading journals of this country.

His opinions are found in volumes 92 to 125 of our reports, or 33 volumes in all, none being found in the 95th volume. These opinions will be found to set forth most fully the character and standing of Judge Mulkey in relation to the administration of law, that most important feature of all civil or civilized governments. The record he has made in these volumes will remain to honor him as long as our language and our law remain to influence and bless the world.

Judge Mulkey's first wife, whom he married March 23, 1846, died June 2, 1871, here in Cairo. They had eight children, two of whom are William C. and C. L. V. Mulkey, whom most of us know and who are and have been for many years honored members of the bar. He married September 25, 1873, Miss Kate House, of Metropolis, a sister of Mr. Leek's mother. They had two daughters, one of whom died some two or three years ago.

We must not close this sketch without some reference to the religious beliefs and life of Judge Mulkey. During the last twenty-five years of his life of eighty-one years he gave to the great matter of religion his most careful thought and most loving and devoted attention.

It had engaged his attention in a marked degree in his earlier years, and he turned back to it again with a great joy in his heart when his professional work in the law had about come to a close.

His grandfather, John Mulkey, was a Baptist minister of prominence in Kentucky and with the celebrated Barton Stone, was a forerunner of the even more celebrated Alexander Campbell, who organized what was once generally called the Campbellite church but now more generally called the Christian church or the Church of the Disciples. Dr. Isaac Mulkey, the Judge's father, was also a minister of the same church, and the Judge himself a member of it for a time; but in later years he seems to have turned aside for a short time from all churches and religious matters and to have become something of an agnostic. But in this condition of mind he did not long remain. His first wife became a member of the Roman Catholic church a short time before her death, and while we do not know, it may have been this which first led him to the investigation and study of that church. At all events, some twenty-two or twenty-three years before his death and after a full and careful consideration of the various churches and religious organizations, he became a member of the Catholic church, and with an ever increasing confidence in his belief, he lived in the fullest sense of the word the life of a good Catholic and died in the firm and implicit belief in the faith of that church. He died at Metropolis, July 9, 1905, having reached the age of eighty-one years, one month and fifteen days.

We thus see how this family from generation to generation have given their attention to those matters and things which relate to a future life, and which must ever remain far more important than the profession of the law or any other secular calling or employment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN M. LANSDEN,
WM. B. GILBERT,
REED GREEN,
AUGUS LEEK,
WILLIAM S. DEWEY,

*Committee of the Alexander County Bar.*

PART V.

IN MEMORIAM.

# Members of the Illinois State Historical Society.

DECEASED.

JANUARY 1905—JANUARY 1906.

P. L. DIEFFENBACHER,
Surgeon 85th Ill. Vol. Inf.

## PHILIP L. DIEFFENBACHER, 1830–1905.

It is with deep regret that we are called upon to chronicle the death of one of Havana's leading professional men, Dr. P. L. Dieffenbacher, whose death occurred Sunday morning, January 29, 1905, at his home on South Orange street, surrounded by his family. He had been confined to his bed for some weeks and it was known for several days that his recovery was doubtful.

Philip L. Dieffenbacher, was born in Northumberland county, Pa., February 6, 1830. He was the oldest son of Daniel and Catherine (Long) Dieffenbacher. His parents came to Illinois in 1837 and settled in what was then a part of Tazewell (now Mason) county. He remained at home and helped improve a new farm until 1849 when he returned to Pennsylvania for the purpose of attending school. Entering the Newville Academy, a preparatory school to the Jefferson College, at Cannonsburg where he finished his preparatory education, after which he returned to this county and taught in the school house he helped to build, known as the Dieffenbacher school house, situated about six miles east of Havana. In the summer of 1851 he returned to Pennsylvania and commenced the study of medicine in the office of Drs. P. H. and S. H. Long, of Mechanicsburg, that State. He entered the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia in 1853 and graduated in 1855. During the winter of 1854-55 he attended the clinical lectures and practice of Blockly Hospital, West Philadelphia. After graduating he established his office at Mt. Joy, Lancaster county, Pa., and there began the practice of his profession. In the spring of 1856 he returned to Illinois, locating at Havana.

In August 1862 he enlisted in the U. S. service as first Assistant Surgeon of the 85th Illinois infantry and was promoted to Surgeon with rank of Major in June 1863 He served with this body until the close of the war, being with General Sherman in his march to the sea and at Washington, D. C., when he was mustered out of service June 5, 1865 and received final pay and discharge at Camp Butler, Ill., on the eleventh of the same month. He then returned to Havana where he has since resided constantly occupied in the duties connected with his profession in which he made surgery a specialty. He performed the operation of re-section of the shoulder joint for a gunshot wound successfully in 1860, just before the war. In 1874 he was married to Martha M. Mitchell, who was born in Cass county, Ill., and to them were born three children, Martha M., Edith L. and Philip.

The Doctor was also a member of the followlng orders: Prosperity Lodge No. 114, A. O. U. W.; I. O. M. A.; Pioneer Relief Association. He became a member of Humane Lodge, I. O. O. F., at York, Pa., in 1854. He has filled all the chairs in both the subordinate lodge and encampment.

During the smallpox epidemic in Havana several years ago, Dr. Dieffenbacher was untiring in his labor to administer to those afflicted with this disease and as a token of respect for these services the Mayor issued the following proclamation:

WHEREAS, The death of Dr. P. L. Dieffenbacher, our late health officer, has filled our citizens with deepest regret, and

WHEREAS, In discharge of his duties as such officer, during periods when smallpox and other diseases were epidemic, he regarded neither his own health nor private practice; but discharged the toilsome and dangerous duties with a patriotism and heroism such as characterized his life in days of old, when with sword and buckler he responded to the call of duty.

Therefore, we trust, with becoming gratitude, for his heroism and self-sacrifice in the performance of his duties as an officer and citizen, in guarding and protecting the lives of our people, and with a just expression of sorrow for his loss as an honored and respected fellow townsman, let our people refrain from their usual vocations and show a last tribute of respect and esteem by attending the funeral services to be held at the Episcopal Church in this city at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, February 1, 1905.

The funeral services were held Wednesday, February 1, 1905, at the Episcopal Church where Rev. W. D. McLean delivered an eloquent funeral discourse, after which the remains were laid to rest in Laurel Hill Cemetery to await the resurrection morn.

## HON. EDGAR WADE FAXON.

Edgar Wade Faxon was born in Little Rock township on the 22nd of January, 1857. His early life was spent on a farm and he attended the short sessions of the district school and later attended the schools of Naperville and Valparaiso, Indiana. Mr. Faxon taught school for four years, and afterwards was editor of the "Journal" at Amboy, Illinois. Years later he was owner and editor of the "Kendall County News," but sold out to the present editor, his brother, George S. Faxon. Mr. Faxon was employed in the office of the Secretary of State during the administration of Henry D. Dement. In 1886 Mr Faxon was elected to the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of Illinois. Many important bills were presented by him and some became laws. He was chairman of the Agriculture and Horticulture committee and presented the bill making Springfield the permanent location of the State Fair. He organized the first Farmers' Institute in Kendall county and served as its president, and was for years an official of the Kendall County Fair Association. Mr. Faxon was a graduate from the Chicago College of Law, and has ever since held a prominent position at the Kendall county bar, and was for years city attorney of Plano. Among the monuments of lasting credit to the memory of Mr. Faxon will be the beautiful library building which was erected in 1906. Mr. Faxon was the founder of the city library at Plano, and through his earnest efforts secured a gift from Carnegie for the building of the library.

Mr. Faxon was a high degree Mason.

In 1879 he was married to Ella Ida Cherry, and to them were born two children, Lillian and Kenneth, with their mother, who survive him.

Mr. Faxon died at his home in Plano, Illinois, March 3, 1905.

## GEORGE H. SOUTHER.

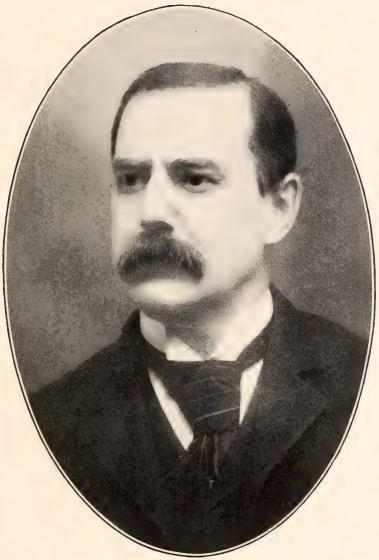
Mr. Souther was born March 24, 1840 in Essex county, Massachusetts. His parents, Timothy and Eliza (Greenough) Souther, removed from New England to Alton when this state was in the early stages of its history.

Mr. Souther received his schooling at Alton and later engaged in the mercantile business in which he continued until the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion. He joined the Seventieth Illinois Infantry, Company F, and did effective service in the field.

Mr. Souther was instrumental in the organization of the Sangamon Loan and Trust Company, of Springfield, Illinois, which was formed in 1886. and has been acting cashier and vice president of the bank for a number of years.

In September 1873 Mr. Souther was married to Miss Nannie E. Latham. Three children were born to them, one son, Latham, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Lucy Souther.

Mr. Souther died at Springfield, Illinois, September 13, 1905, of heart trouble. He is survived by his wife and three children.



GEORGE H. SOUTHER.

ELLEN ROBERTSON PALMER,
Wife of John Mayo Palmer.

## MRS. ELLEN ROBERTSON PALMER.

Ellen Robertson Palmer was born in Carlinville, Illinois, September 25, 1847 and was the daughter of Dr. William R. Robertson, a pioneer physician of Macoupin county, and her mother was Nancy Holliday, the daughter of Rev. Chs. Holliday, one of the prominent Methodist preachers of early days in Kentucky and Illinois, Mrs. Palmer was educated in the public schools of her birthplace and at Monticello seminary. She was married July 7, 1869 in Carlinville to John Mayo Palmer, whose father, General John M. Palmer, was then governor of Illinois. From 1872 to 1889 Mrs. Palmer was a resident of Springfield, Illinois, and later, on account of the ill health of her husband, removed to the state of Washington. They returned to Illinois and Mr. Palmer died in 1903, and after that time Mrs. Palmer was a confirmed invalid.

Mrs. Palmer died September 20, 1905, at her home in Carlinville, Illinois. She is survived by three sons, Captain John McAuley Palmer, United States Army; Robertson Palmer, with the legal department of Armour & Co., Chicago, and Dr. George Thomas Palmer of Springfield, Illinois.

## HON. ADOLPH MOSES.

Mr. Moses was born in Speyer, capital of Palatinate, Germany, on the 27th day of February, 1837. There he received his early education in the public and Latin schools, preparatory to the study of law, which profession was his own choice.

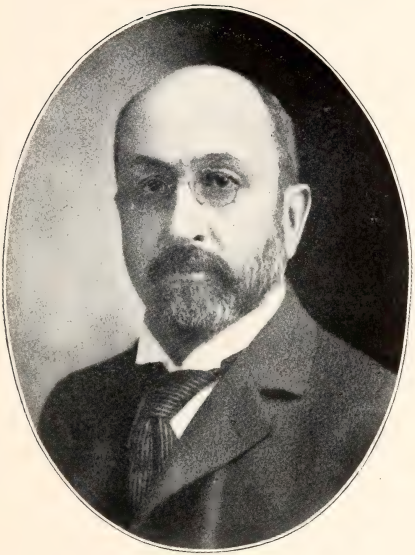
On account of the disabilities surrounding the people of the Hebrew race in that country, he came to the United States and settled at New Orleans, December 22, 1852. Upon his arrival he resumed his studies and completed his collegiate education at the Louisiana University. His legal education was conducted under Randall Hunt, Christian Roselius and Judge McCaleb, who were then famous members of the American bar. In 1861 he was admitted to the bar of Louisiana.

He served as captain in the Confederate army and at the close of the war came north and settled in Quincy, Illinois. In 1869 he removed to Chicago. He soon gained a wide reputation as a lawyer, and in 1879 was democratic nominee for Judge of the Supreme Court. He was a member of the American, Chicago and State Bar Associations, and in 1897 was president of the latter. At the time of his death he was a member of the law firm of Moses, Rosenthal & Kennedy. He was much interested in charitable work, and was an ardent supporter of art and music.

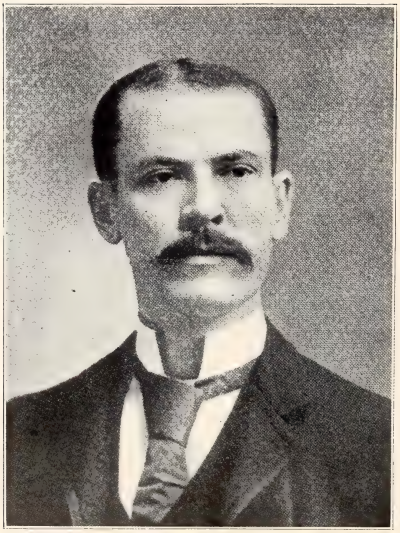
Mr. Moses was an active member of several societies, among which are the Masons, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, the Iroquois and Standard clubs, the Illinois State Historical Society and the Chicago Historical Society.

Mr. Moses was married in 1869 in Chicago, Illinois, to Matilda Wolf, of Mannheim, Germany. He is survived by his widow and six children—Joseph W., Julius, Hamilton and Paul Moses, Mrs. J. W. Moses of New Orleans, and Mrs. Moritz Rosenthal.

His death occurred November 6, 1905, at Asheville, N. C., as the result of a stroke of paralysis received a few days previously.



HON. ADOLPH MOSES.



LUTHER M. DEARBORN.

## HON. LUTHER M. DEARBORN.

Luther M. Dearborn was born at Geneva, Illinois, August 5, 1858. He was educated at Shattuck School, Fairbault, Minn., and at Racine, Wisconsin. He was a law student in the office of the Hon. John N. Jewett, at Chicago, Illinois, afterwards spent two years at Harvard Law school, and was admitted to the bar in 1882. He remained in Chicago in the law office of his father, the late Luther Dearborn, for three years and afterwards formed a partnership with Judge Annis, in Aurora, Illinois. Mr. Dearborn was the Democratic representative from the 14th district, Aurora, Kane county, and served three terms, from 1890 to 1896. In 1891 he was appointed President of the Illinois State Commission of Claims and served four years. At the time of his death, which occurred November 9, 1905, he was practicing law in the city of Chicago. He was unmarried.

## DR. HENRY WOHLGEMUTH.

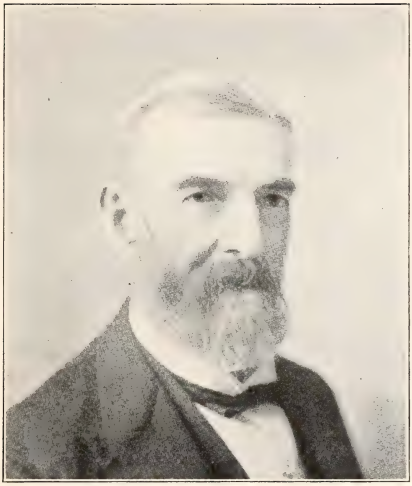
Dr. Wohlgemuth was born on May 22, 1822, in Hanover, Germany. His parents were Frederick and Marie (Boehne) Wohlgemuth. His early education was acquired in the schools of his native land, and at the age of sixteen he decided to become a physician. He entered an allopathic college, where he continued until the time of his father's death, which compelled him to put an end to his studies in Germany. In 1845 his mother and her family came to America. In the same year Dr. Wohlgemuth became a resident of Springfield, Illinois and began the active practice of medicine. He established a large practice, and later took a course of instruction in the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati, Ohio, graduating from that institution in 1854, and immediately resumed practice at Springfield, Illinois. He was chosen first president of the Eclectic Medical Association of Illinois when it was organized in this State. He was also a member of the National Eclectic Association and an honorary member of the New York State Medical Society.

Dr. Wohlgemuth held many offices of public trust, and it was largely through his efforts that the beautiful Oak Ridge cemetery, the last resting place of Abraham Lincoln, exists today. He has been a member of the cemetery association since 1864, and its president for a number of years, which position he held at the time of his death.

Dr. Wohlgemuth married Miss Elizabeth M. Wolgamot, of Springfield, Illinois, in 1849. She died in 1897. Of their six children, three survive, Henry J. and William C. Wohlgemuth and Mrs. Mabelle Wohlgemuth Lubbe.

Dr. Wohlgemuth was very prominent in Masonic circles and was a thirty-second degree Mason.

Dr. Wohlgemuth died at his residence in Springfield on the eleventh day of November, 1905.



DR. HENRY WOHLGEMUTH.

## HENRY B. KEPLEY.

Henry B. Kepley, was born June 20, 1836, at Limestone Creek, Effingham county, Illinois. He spent his early years on a farm. He was ambitious for an education, and his money secured through hard work was expended for it. In 1856 Mr. Kepley taught school at Georgetown, Illinois, and later attended Franklin College at Franklin, Indiana, for one year. His funds being exhausted he continued his studies while teaching school, and in 1859 began the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1860 and in 1862 opened a law office in Effingham, Illinois. He was not only successful in his professional career but was very fortunate in his business and financial affairs. Mr. Kepley was always active in politics. He was originally a Democrat, but later became a prominent leader of the Prohibition party, and was also a prominent Mason.

Mr. Kepley died at his home in Effingham, January 1, 1906, and is survived by his widow, Ada H. Kepley.

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